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THE

WORKS

OF

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE, BART.

VOLUME THE FOURTH.

LONDON:

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MDCCLXX.

THE

PREFACE to the First Edition.

THE following Papers *are the last of this, or indeed of any kind, about which the author ever gave me his particular commands. They were corrected by himself, and fairly transcribed in his life-time. I have in all things followed his directions as strictly as I could; but accidents unforeseen having since intervened, I have thought convenient to lessen the bulk of this volume: to which end I have omitted several letters addressed to persons with whom this author corresponded without any particular confidence farther, than upon account of their posts; because great numbers of such letters, procured out of the office, or by other means (how justifiable I shall not examine) have been already printed; but running wholly upon long dry subjects of business, have met no other reputation than merely what the reputation of the author would give them. If I could have foreseen an end of this trade, I should, upon some considerations, have longer forborn sending these into the world. But I daily hear, that new discoveries of* original letters *are hasting to the press; to stop the current of which, I am forced to an earlier publication than I designed: and therefore I take this occasion to inform the reader, That these letters, ending with the author's revocation from his employ-*

ments abroad (which in leſs than two years was followed by his retirement from all public buſineſs) are the laſt he ever intended for the preſs; having been ſelected by himſelf from great numbers yet lying among his papers.

If I could have been prevailed with by the rhetorick of bookſellers, or any other little regards, I might eaſily, inſtead of retrenching, *have made very conſiderable* additions; *and by that means have perhaps taken the ſureſt courſe to prevent the interloping of others. But if the* preſs *muſt needs be loaded, I had rather it ſhould not be by my means. And therefore I may hope to be allowed one word in the ſtyle of a* publiſher *(an office liable to much cenſure, without the leaſt pretenſion to* merit *or to* praiſe) *that, if I have not been much deceived by others and myſelf, the* reader *will hardly find one* letter *in this* collection *unworthy of the* author, *or which does not contain ſomething either of* entertainment *or of* uſe.

LETTERS

LETTERS

TO THE

KING, the Prince of *Orange*, &c.

To the Duke of Florence.

Sheen, Nov.—— 1672.

SIR,

AS I ought at all times, and in every manner poſſible, to ſhew the ſenſe I have of the honour done me by your moſt ſerene Highneſs, in the repeated inſtances of your goodneſs to me, and the many expreſſions of your kind remembrance of me; and as it is not long ſince my lord Stafford ſhewed me a letter of your Highneſs's writing, in as proper Engliſh as if your Highneſs had been more years than you were weeks in England, I reſolved to ſend to your Highneſs the incloſed papers, which are part of the fruits of that leiſure and retirement, which I have lately enjoyed in the country. They contain the three laſt chapters of the remarks I have made upon the preſent ſtate of Holland; the firſt thoughts of which undertaking I was inſpired with by the

Au Duc de Florence.

De Sheen, Novemb.—1672.

Monſieur,

COmme je dois toujours, & en toutes manieres, reconnoître l'honneur que Votre Alteſſe Sme. m'a fait par tant de temoignages de ſa bonté & de ſon ſouvenir; & qu'il n'y a pas longtems que Milord Stafford m'a montré une lettre de V. A. écrite auſſi bien en Anglois comme ſi Elle eût ſejourné plus d'années en Angleterre, qu'Elle n'en a fait de ſemaines; j'ay reſolu d'envoyer à V. A. ces papiers envelopés, comme une partie des fruits que j'ay cueillis dans l'oiſiveté de nos champs. Ce ſont les trois derniers chapitres des remarques que j'ay tracés ſur l'état de la Hollande, dont la penſée m'a été premierement

the example of your Highneſs; having with admiration obſerved the great application you uſed, and the judicious curioſity you ſhewed on this ſubject during the courſe of thoſe voyages and journeys you made with a moſt generous purpoſe, thereby to advance and promote real knowledge, and not to make a ſhew of your own magnificence and ſtate. I make no doubt but your Highneſs has it in your intentions to make the ſpeculations of ſtrangers abroad part of your own diverſion at home, and to turn them to the profit of your own country; ſince great part of Tuſcany is ſo advantageouſly ſituated for the carrying on commerce in the ampleſt manner. Nor did I think it would be diſagreeable to lay before you, in a clearer view, thoſe occaſions and conjunctures which conſpired together to ruin and overthrow, as it were, at one ſtroke, that republic which your Highneſs ſo lately ſaw in ſo great and flouriſhing a condition, and under the conduct of ſo wiſe a miniſtry. It was on this account that I have choſen to ſend your Highneſs theſe chapters concerning their commerce, their ſtrength, and the cauſes of their late misfortune; and if I continue my intention of publiſhing the treatiſe entire, I ſhall not fail to preſent to your Highneſs the firſt copy that comes from the preſs; being

inſpirée par l'exemple de V. A. ayant admiré l'application & curioſité judicieuſe qu'elle a employé ſur ce ſujet, durant le cours des voyages qu'Elle y a faites ſur un deſſein ſi genereux que l'accroiſſement de ces belles connoiſſances, & non pas l'oſtentation de ſa grandeur. Je n'ay pas douté que V. A. n'ait eu l'intention d'exercer chez elle les ſpeculations faites chez les étrangers, conſiderant l'aſſiette d'une partie de la Toſcane ſi propre pour l'établiſſement du plus grand commerce. Et j'ay crû que vous ſeriez content de conſiderer à plus près les occaſions & conjonctures qui ont conſpiré à accabler, quaſi d'un coup, cette republique, que V. A. a vue depuis peu ſi grande & ſi fleuriſſante, & animée par un ſi ſage miniſtere. C'eſt pourquoy j'ay choiſi à luy envoyer ces chapitres touchant leur commerce, leurs forces, & les cauſes de leur dernier malheur: & ſi je me reſoudray un jour à mettre en lumiere le diſcours entier, je ne manqueray pas à preſenter à V. A. le premier qui en ſortira, comme à luy donner toutes les marques poſſibles de la devotion, que j'ay toujours

being ever ready to give all poſſible marks of that devotion which I always pay to your perſon and high endowments, and to omit no proof of that zeal, which I ſhall ever have for your ſervice. Your Highneſs will reflect, that the fruits of our poor climate can never come near thoſe of Italy, and are therefore only to be received for their novelty, as our apples are ſerved up among the figs and raiſins of Florence: and your Highneſs will pardon the liberty I take upon this occaſion, to cultivate and enlarge that part which your Highneſs has the goodneſs to give me in your remembrance, and to renew thoſe profeſſions, which I have ſo often made, of that moſt real paſſion with which I am, your moſt ſerene Highneſs's moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant.

jours eu pour ſa perſonne, & ſes grandes qualités, comme du zèle que je porteray toujours à ſon ſervice, V. A. fera reflexion, que les fruits de ce mechant climat n'approchent pas ceux d'Italie, & ne les doit conſiderer que par la nouveauté, comme quelqu'une de nos pommes parmi les figues & raiſins de la Florence. Et V. A. pardonnera la liberté que je prens ſur cette occaſion de cultiver la part qu'Elle m'a donné en ſon ſouvenir, & de renouveller les profeſſions que j'ay faites ſi ſouvent d'une paſſion veritable avec laquelle je ſuis, de V. A. Sme. le très humble & très obéïſſant ſerviteur.

To the Duke of Florence.

Dublin, May 20, N. S. 1673.

SIR,

THE letter of the 15th of February, which your moſt ſerene Highneſs did me the honour to write, found me in Ireland, whither the neceſſary care of my family affairs had carried me, and obliged me to continue for three months. The matters to be ſettled before I made this voyage took up ſo much time, that I have but juſt compaſſed it;

Au Duc de Florence.

Dublin, May 20, S. N. 1673.

Monſieur,

L'Honneur que V. A. Sme. m'a fait par ſa lettre du 15me. de Fevrier, m'a trouvé en Yrlande, où quelques affaires domeſtiques m'ont attiré pour trois mois de ſejour. Les detours neceſſaires à ce voyage l'ont tellement retardé, que j'en ſuis depuis peu ſeulement en poſ-

it; and this has brought upon me a neceſſity of returning my moſt humble thanks much later than I could wiſh; but yet with all due eſteem and devotion. Your Highneſs does me the juſtice to regard me as one intirely belonging to you, and in this view it is, that your Highneſs's judgment concerning my papers has ſhewn itſelf altogether partial to them: however, I will not preſume to gainſay it, and thereby your Highneſs will have a freſh aſſurance, that, like your will and pleaſure, your judgment is with me inconteſtable. When your Highneſs ſignifies, that the reading my writings gave you any the leaſt ſatisfaction, it gives me the greateſt opinion of my own glory; and while I poſſeſs the letter you have honoured me with on this occaſion, I have the greateſt ſenſe of my own riches. Methinks, I have juſt made a voyage to the Indies, and have purchaſed gold and precious ſtones for toys and trifles. Even in the dark and dull climate I am now in, I have light enough to diſcover moſt clearly, that every line of your Highneſs has a far greater luſtre, that the moſt excellent compoſitions that ſuch a country as ours can produce; and appears like a touch from the hand of Raphael, infinitely ſuperior to the confuſed deſigns

ſeſſion, & me trouve par là dans la neceſſité de rendre à V. A. mes très humbles reconnoiſſances plus tard que je n'aurois ſouhaité, encore qu'avec toute l'eſtime & devotion que je dois. Je voy bien que V. A. me fait la juſtice de me regarder comme une choſe qui lui appartient entierement, & que par là Elle s'eſt rendue tout à fait partiale au jugement qu'Elle a fait de mes papiers. Mais je ne veux pas me defendre, & de là V. A. ſe pourra bien aſſurer que ſon jugement ſera toujours pour moy inconteſtable, auſſi bien que ſa volonté. Je me ſens trop glorieux de ce que V. A. temoigne avoir trouvé la moindre ſatisfaction en cette lecture, & trop riche par la lettre dont elle m'a honoré ſur cette occaſion. Il me ſemble avoir fait un voyage des Indes, & recueilli de l'or & des pierreries en retour de la plus chetive marchandiſe; & j'ay aſſez de lumiere en ce climat le plus obſcur, pour m'appercevoir clairement que chaque ligne de V. A. ait bien autre éclat que les plus belles compoſitions qu'un païs comme le nôtre pourra

ſigns of our Engliſh painters. I did intend to ſend your Highneſs the book entire, of which you have ſeen a ſmall part with ſo much indulgence; but the bookſeller at London being in ſuch haſte, as to publiſh it in my abſence, I found ſo many faults in the print, that I was aſhamed even to own it for mine, and therefore omitted ſending to your Highneſs the firſt copy, which I ſtood obliged to do both by promiſe and duty. But by the good luck of the bookſeller, and through the humour of the preſent times, which at preſent are mighty inquiſitive after any thing that relates to Holland, the firſt impreſſion has had ſo quick a ſale, that a ſecond is now printing, and almoſt finiſhed. I have myſelf taken care of the correcting of this edition; and, tho' I am upon my return to England, yet I have ſent to my bookſeller an expreſs order by this poſt to deliver into Monſieur Tivieſſi's hands the two firſt copies to be ſent to your moſt ſerene Highneſs. Had I a capacity to do it, I would have tranſlated it into Italian, and have begged leave to dedicate it to your Highneſs; the honour of ſo great a name being the only means to protect ſo mean and weak a diſcourſe. But as it was owing to the favour only which your Highneſs has the goodneſs to ſhew

pourra jamais produire, & paroît comme un rayon de la main de Raphael, au regard des pièces brouillées de nos peintres Anglois. J'avois pourtant l'intention d'envoyer à V. A. la pièce entiere, dont elle a veu ſeulement les pieds avec tant d'indulgence; mais la precipitation d'un libraire l'ayant fait ſortir à Londres en mon abſence, j'ay trouvé qu'il y avoit tant de fautes de l'impreſſion, que j'avois honte de l'avoüer pour mien, & me contentois par là de n'avoir pas mandé à V. A. le premier, ſelon mon devoir auſſi bien que ma promeſſe. Mais par le bonheur du dit libraire, & l'humeur du tems curieux à preſent ſur le ſujet de la Hollande, il s'eſt trouvé au bout de la premiere impreſſion dans ſi peu de tems, qu'il va deja achever une ſeconde, à la correction de laquelle j'ay donné la main, & encore que je me trouve ſur mon retour pour l'Angleterre, je n'ay pas voulu manquer à luy envoyer un ordre exprès par ce courier de mettre en main de Monſieur Tivieſſi les deux premiers exemplaires pour être envoyés à

ſhew to the Engliſh tongue, that I preſumed to ſend you the pattern at firſt of this diſcourſe; I ſend you the reſt of it likewiſe, in the mean and ordinary dreſs of its own country, rather than adorned with the rich habit of a foreign one, which would ill become the ſimplicity of its birth, as well as the meanneſs of its condition. What remains but to intreat your Highneſs to receive it as the proper effect of your own commands, as well as a teſtimony of that particular zeal and paſſion, with which I am, and ſhall be all my life, your moſt ſerene Highneſs's moſt humble, *&c.*

V. A. Sme. Si j'en étois capable je l'aurois traduit en Italien, & ſupplie V. A. d'honorer la dedication par un ſi grand nom, comme le ſeul moyen de proteger un ſi foible ſujet. Mais comme la ſeule faveur que V. A. temoigne pour la langue Angloiſe, m'a donné la hardieſſe à luy envoyer le premier échantillon, je fais partir auſſi le reſte plûtôt dans le pauvre habit de ſon païs que paré d'un plus riche des païs étrangers; ce que ſeroit mal aſſorti à la ſimplicité de ſa naiſſance, auſſi bien que de ſa condition. Au reſte, V. A. recevra s'il luy plait comme l'effet de ſon propre commandement, auſſi bien que comme un temoignage de la devotion toute particuliere & paſſionnée avec laquelle je ſeray toute ma vie, de V. A. Sme. le très humble, &c.

To the Prince of Orange.

SIR, Sheen, February—1673-4.

THough the honour I expected of attending your Highneſs, upon ſo great and happy a conjuncture, has not fallen me; and his Majeſty's late reſolutions, for my ſudden journey into Holland, have been diverted by occaſions that made way for a more

more ſpeedy concluſion of the peace; yet I could not be ſatisfied, without making uſe of Sir Gabriel Sylvius's favour to me, in charging himſelf with this trouble; by which I might at the ſame time give your Highneſs the particular account of all that has paſſed in this late tranſaction here, and withal rejoice with you upon the happy ſucceſſes that have attended your affairs on the other ſide; in which I will aſſure your Highneſs, both his Majeſty and all his good ſubjects have taken ſuch a ſhare, as has very much contributed to the eaſy and ſudden diſpatch of this great affair; wherein both your Highneſs and the States, and indeed the happineſs and ſafety of both nations, are ſo nearly concerned. For my own part, I will only ſay, that as no man gave ſo public and ſo avowed teſtimonies of the devotion and honour I have always had at heart for your Highneſs's perſon and ſervice, and of the eſteem that, I knew, was from all men due to you in the greateſt decline of your fortune; ſo, at this time, when your Highneſs will receive the general compliments and applauſes of all men, there is none among them, that can take a more particular part in your Highneſs's good fortunes, nor make more paſſionate wiſhes for their continuance and increaſe. But I know your Highneſs does me ſo much juſtice, as to believe all that can be ſaid from me of this kind unneceſſary: therefore I ſhall proceed to tell your Highneſs, that upon receipt of the States laſt letter, with deſire of paſſports for their ambaſſadors, and offers of a ceſſation of arms, his Majeſty was pleaſed, upon the 3d current, being Tueſday morning, to declare at the committee of foreign affairs, that having thought of it in the night, he was reſolved, for preventing all delays that attend the coming of ambaſſadors hither, to ſend over into Holland; and that he would ſend me with

the

the project of a treaty, and full powers to conclude immediately, if the States were in the mind they expreſſed of doing him juſtice. This was received with ſo great a concurrence, that I was immediately ſent for, acquainted with his Majeſty's intentions, and commanded to be ready to begin my journey the next day, and to attend upon the two ſecretaries of ſtate that afternoon, at the drawing both the project, and my inſtructions. I told the King, I would obey him; but that I might the better do it, I begged of him, that I might go without any character of ambaſſador; which would delay me with the preparations of equipage here, and embarraſs me with ceremonies there, unneceſſary for ſo ſudden a diſpatch. His Majeſty thought it reaſonable, and ſo gave order I ſhould go without any other character, than of plenipotentiary; but gave me the appointment of all kinds of an ambaſſador, which, he told me, I muſt take upon me when the peace was concluded.

The project and inſtructions could not be finiſhed till Wedneſday at evening, nor the commiſſion ſealed till Thurſday at noon, which was deſigned for my ſetting out; and in order to it, I had kiſſed the King's and Duke's hands late on Wedneſday night, and received their letters to your Highneſs, and ſent away my ſervants towards Harwich on Thurſday morning. But about ten o'clock the ſame day arrived the pacquet, by a trumpeter from Holland, which brought full powers to the Spaniſh ambaſſador to treat and conclude the peace: upon the knowledge whereof, I went immediately to the King, and told him, how inconvenient it would be to expoſe the treaty to the accidents of a journey, of ſeas, and of weather, when it might be finiſhed here, perhaps before I could be at Harwich; beſides, that it would be more honour for his

his Majeſty to treat it here than at the Hague, which was an expedient only for diſpatch, and therefore begged of his Majeſty, that no conſideration of me might divert him from falling into the buſineſs here, at leaſt till he ſaw it could not be effected. The King was pleaſed with what I ſaid, ſent me immediately to the Spaniſh ambaſſador to bring an account of his powers, and has done me the honour to make me treat the whole thing with his excellency in all its points, ſo as to leave occaſion only for the commiſſioners to meet once on Saturday, to agree upon drawing up the treaty; and yeſterday again at four o'clock for ſigning it. But after all this was agreed, and before that hour was come, I was forced by an accident in town to come down into the country for two or three days, and ſo have the mortification of not ſeeing Sir Gabriel Sylvius before his going away with the ratifications, which I left the King reſolved he ſhould do this night.

It is not fit to entertain your Highneſs farther from the country; but I hope, upon my return to town, to have his Majeſty's leave to ſend your Highneſs, by next poſt, the letters he was pleaſed to encharge me with; as likewiſe that from the Duke, with very particular expreſſions from them both, which, I ſuppoſe, you will not be willing to loſe, though you may receive of a later date. In the mean time, I beg your Highneſs to believe, that upon all occaſions I ſhall be infinitely proud and pleaſed to give you the beſt teſtimonies of the ſincereſt and devoteſt paſſion, wherewith I have been ſo long, and ſhall ever be, Sir, your Highneſs's, &c.

To the Duke of Florence.

London, February 11, 1673-4.

SIR,

DURING my retirement into the country it was not poſſible for me to find any pretence for a letter; ſo that I have not for ſome time been able to make uſe of that liberty which your moſt ſerene Highneſs has had the goodneſs to allow me of writing; but ſince my return to town, having within theſe few days met with an affair of great importance, the particulars of which I thought your Highneſs would be pleaſed to know; I would not loſe any one of thoſe few opportunities that I have, of giving proof of the paſſion which I have had ſo long, to diſcharge faithfully that duty that I lie under, to do every thing that may be any ways for your Highneſs's ſervice or entertainment.

On Monday the 2d of this inſtant, the King received certain news of the reſolution taken by the States General to make the office and dignity of the Prince of Orange hereditary; and with this account, a letter from the States, deſiring paſſports for their ambaſſadors, and an offer to agree to a ſuſpenſion of arms. About the ſame time, the two houſes

Au Duc de Florence.

Londres, Fevr. 11, 1673-4.

Monſieur,

N'Ayant rien trouvé dans la ſolitude des champs pour me fournir de pretexte, je n'ay pas auſſi depuis peu pris la liberté que V. A. Sme. m'a autrefois donnée de l'entretenir, mais ayant ces jours paſſés rencontré en ville une grande conjoncture, & dont j'ay crû que V. A. ſeroit contente de ſavoir le detail, je n'ay pas voulu perdre une occaſion qui ſe preſente ſi peu ſouvent, pour faire valoir à V. A. la paſſion que j'ay eu ſi long tems à me bien acquitter de toutes ſortes de devoirs qui luy pourroient être ou de ſervice ou d'entretien.

Lundi 2de. de ce mois, le Roy receut d'Hollande les nouvelles aſſurées de la reſolution priſe par les Etats, de rendre hereditaire la charge & dignité du Prince d'Orange, & une lettre de la part des Etats avec la demande des paſſeports pour leurs ambaſſadeurs, & l'offre d'une ſuſpenſion d'armes. Environ le même tems, les deux

houſes of Parliament had formally given the King their advice to make peace as ſoon as poſſible, and to enter upon a treaty upon the foot of thoſe propoſitions offered by the ambaſſador of Spain, which his Majeſty had communicated to them, when he aſked their advice. On Tueſday the 3d in the morning, the King declared in council, that having the night before conſidered of the importance of the preſent conjuncture, he had reſolved to avoid all delays by ſending an ambaſſador to Holland, and that he had pitched upon myſelf for that purpoſe. This reſolution of the King's meeting with the approbation of the whole council, I had notice of it, and directions given me to promote the project, and act in purſuance of his Majeſty's deſign, which was to conclude the peace, and ſign it at the Hague. Thurſday the 5th, about noon, was the time appointed for my departure. I waited for my diſpatches, but ſent my attendants before, reſolving to follow them poſt to Harwich (there being no going down the river, becauſe the wind was contrary). I had received the money for my equipage, and his Majeſty's letters, and had kiſſed the King's and

deux maiſons du Parlement avoient donné au Roy leurs avis formels de faire la paix au plûtôt, & d'entrer en traité ſur les propoſitions offertes par l'ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne, leſquelles ſa Majeſté leur avoit miſe en main quand il demanda leur avis. Mardi 3me. au matin, le Roy declara au conſeil ſecret, qu'ayant ſongé la nuit à l'importance de cette conjoncture, il avoit reſolu pour éviter les retardemens, d'envoyer en Hollande; & me nomma pour cette ambaſſade. La choſe ayant rencontré la concurrence entiere de tous ceux du conſeil, on me manda auſſitôt, & me donna part de la reſolution, & ordre d'aſſiſter à la digeſtion du projet, ſur laquelle ſa Majeſté ſeroit contente que la paix ſe fit, & ſe ſignât à la Haye. Jeudy 5me. à midy étoit le tems pris pour mon departement; & en attendant mes depêches j'avois fait partir mes gens pour les ſuivre en poſte à Harwich (le vent étant contraire à la ſortie de la riviere). J'avois receu l'argent de mon équipage, & les lettres de ſa Majeſté, & baiſé la main au

the Duke's hand, when about ten of the clock in the morning on the ſame Thurſday a trumpeter arrived from Holland, bringing full and entire powers to the ambaſſador of Spain to treat here of a peace and bring it to a concluſion if it could be done. I immediately waited upon his Majeſty with this news, and begged of him to lay aſide all regard to me, and not expoſe a treaty of ſuch importance to the accidents of time and voyages, when it might perhaps be finiſhed here, before I ſhould get even to Harwich, and when the doing it here at London would be more for his Majeſty's honour, than at the Hague. His Majeſty received me very graciouſly, and was pleaſed to ſend me forthwith to the ambaſſador of Spain, to ſee his powers, and diſcover, as far as I could, his inſtructions, to form a judgment, whether the peace could be now concluded. I have laid before his Majeſty my opinion concerning the validity of his powers, and the likelihood I found there was of bringing this affair to a concluſion here. Hereupon his Majeſty ordered me to treat with the ambaſſador; which I have done point by point, and we have brought matters ſo well to bear, that

au Roy & au Duc; quand ſur les dix heures du matin dudit Jeudy, arriva un trompette d'Hollande, portant à l'ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne les pleins & entiers pouvoirs à traiter & conclurre la paix icy s'il en pouvoit convenir. Je m'en allois auſſitôt au Roy pour luy porter la nouvelle, le ſuppliant de n'avoir aucune conſideration de moy en cette affaire, & de n'expoſer un traité ſi important aux accidens du tems & des voyages, quand il le pourroit peut-être achever icy devant que je ſerois à Harwich, & même avec plus d'honneur à Londres qu'à la Haye. Sa Majeſté le prit en bonne part, & m'envoya auſſitôt à l'ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne pour voir ſes pouvoirs, & le ſonder tant que je pourrois ſur ſes inſtructions, afin de juger s'il y avoit apparence de conclurre icy. J'ay rapporté au Roy mes ſentimens ſur la validité des pouvoirs, & l'apparence que j'ay trouvé d'achever l'affaire. Sur cela ſa Majeſté m'a chargé de la traiter avec l'ambaſſadeur, ce que j'ay fait de point en point, & nous en ſommes ſi bien demêlés

that commiſſioners appointed by his Majeſty, and the ambaſſador have ſigned the treaty the Monday following. On Wedneſday Monſieur Sylvius (who was to have accompanied me to wait on the Prince of Orange, and congratulate him on his acceſſion to the hereditary dignity) went away with thoſe compliments of congratulation, and carried with him the ratification of the treaty; ſo that we expect the ratification back again in two or three days, ſigned by the States, after which the peace will be proclaimed; which, I beg leave to aſſure your Highneſs, will be both honourable and advantageous to his Majeſty. The affair of the flag and Surinam is adjuſted intirely to his Majeſty's ſatisfaction. There is ſo much the more likelihood of the continuance of this peace, becauſe the Queen of Spain is not only guarantee of it, but alſo is appointed arbitrator of thoſe differences which may happen among the commiſſioners, which are to be appointed within three months, to determine all points concerning commerce to the Indies, and the maritime affairs.

mêlés que les commiſſaires de ſa Majeſté & l'ambaſſadeur ont ſigné le traité le Lundi ſuivant. Mecredi Monſieur Sylvius (qui me devoit avoir accompagné pour rejoüir avec le Prince d'Orange de la part de ſa Majeſté ſur ſon avenement à la dignité hereditaire) partit avec les dits complimens, & la ratification du traité; de ſorte que nous attendons en deux ou trois jours que la ratification viendra de la part des Etats, & que là deſſus la paix ſera publiée; laquelle je pourrois aſſurer V. A. être faite honorable & avantageuſe pour ſa Majeſté. L'affaire du pavillon & de Surinam luy eſt tout accordé entierement à ſa ſatisfaction. Auſſi il y a tant plus apparence de la durée, que la Reine d'Eſpagne ne ſoit non ſeulement conſtituée dans la garantie de la paix, mais auſſi dans l'arbitrage des differens qui pourroient ſucceder ſur une commiſſion qui ſe doit faire en trois mois de tems pour decider quelques points ſur la matiere de commerce aux Indes, & de la marine.

I thought, that notice of an affair of this great weight and conſequence to all Chriſtendom, and of the ſeveral ſteps taken therein, would not be diſagreeable to your Highneſs, which made me encharge myſelf with the giving it you; intreating your Highneſs, by thoſe ſmall ſervices, to judge in what manner, and with what ſatisfaction, I ſhould moſt willingly acquit myſelf in matters of greater concern, if fortune ſhould ever be ſo much my friend as to put it in my power; for no one can be with more juſtice, or more paſſion, than myſelf, your moſt ſerene Highneſs's moſt humble, &c.

J'ay crû que la notice & les mouvemens d'une affaire ſi grande & ſi importante à toute la Chrêtienté, ne ſeroient pas deſagréables à V. A. c'eſt pourquoy j'ay voulu m'en charger; la ſuppliant de juger par ces petits ſervices de quelle maniere & avec quelle ſatisfaction je m'acquiterois volontiers de plus grands, ſi la fortune me ſeroit jamais ſi favorable que de m'en faire naître les occaſions: car perſonne ne peut être avec plus de juſtice ni avec plus de paſſion que moy, Monſieur, de V. A. Sme. &c.

To Monſieur Gourville.

London, Feb. 12, N.S. 1673-4.

SIR,

I NEVER entered into an acquaintance with more pleaſure, nor left off one with more regret, than yours. I flatter myſelf, that the beginning of it aroſe from that ſimilitude of humours and opinions that is in us; as the interruption of it was owing to thoſe unhappy circumſtances, which have ſo long kept us aſunder. I am not willing to think myſelf, however, either ſo old, or ſo unfortunate

A Monſieur Gourville.

Londres, Fevr. 12, S. N.
Monſieur, 1673-4.

JE n'ay fait aucune connoiſſance avec plus de plaiſir, ni perdu aucun commerce avec plus de regret que le vôtre. Je me flatte tant que d'attribuer le premier à quelque reſemblance d'humeurs & d'opinions, & le dernier au ſeul malheur des conjonctures qui nous ont éloignés depuis ſi longtems. Je ne me veux pas croire encore

fortunate, as to be without hope of enjoying, once more in my life, your good company, which I rather wiſh might be in France than in any other place. While I live in the expectation of this pleaſure, I have given my ſon an advantage which I am not ſo happy as to have myſelf: he will, at the ſame time, give you an aſſurance of my ready ſervices, and make you an offer of his own; that ſo the entire poſſeſſion you have of me may, as it were, become an inheritance. If you have any commands either for the father, or ſon, I intreat you to lay them upon us with the ſame freedom you ever did, during our long and ſtrict friendſhip in Flanders; and if he ſtands in need of your protection, I aſſure myſelf that you never will refuſe it him; there being no one in the world with more eſteem and paſſion than myſelf, Sir, your moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant, &c.

core ſi vieux ni ſi malheureux que de ne vous voir pas encore un jour de ma vie, et j'aimerois mieux qu'il fût en France qu'en tout autre lieu. Mais en attendant j'ay voulu donner à mon fils un avantage que je ne puis pas avoir moy-même: il vous aſſeurera en même tems de mes ſervices et vous fera l'offre des ſiens; à fin que la poſſeſſion que vous avez acquiſe ſi entierement de moy, vous puiſſe paſſer en heritage. Si vous avez quelques commandemens pour le pere ou le fils, je vous ſupplie de nous en charger avec la franchiſe de nôtre amitié de Flandres; et s'il aura beſoin de vôtre protection, je ſçay que vous ne la luy refuſerez point, puis qu'il n'y a perſonne qui peut être avec plus de paſſion ni plus d'eſtime que moy, Monſieur, votre très humble & très obéïſſant ſerviteur.

To Sir John Temple.

SIR, London, February 17, 1673-4.

I Did not think, a fortnight ago, that you would hear from me, at this time, from this place, having been unexpectedly deſigned another way, which you have had ſome account of from my ſiſter; but

it fit you receive a more particular one from me, upon an occaſion, which I know you will not be diſpleaſed with, both as to what concerns the public and myſelf. You will eaſily imagine the neceſſities, that prevailed with the king and his miniſters to fall into the counſels of making a ſudden peace with Holland. So ſoon as this reſolution was taken privately among them, my lord Arlington ſent for me, and told me of it; and that, at the ſame time, the king and my lord treaſurer, both together, at the foreign committee (ſo as he could not ſay, which of them named me firſt) propoſed my being ſent over upon this occaſion; and the king added, that there was no man elſe to be thought of, and ſo had commanded him to ſend for me, and acquaint me with it. I told him, I ſhould obey his majeſty as became me, and much the rather upon a point by which I thought he fell into his true intereſt, wherein my opinions were but too well known. After this I went to the king, and ſaid the ſame things, and what elſe I eſteemed proper upon that occaſion; and that I would ſerve him as well as I could, though I doubted I was grown a little ruſty by lying ſtill ſo long; and begun to ſhrink at a hard journey in ſuch a cruel ſeaſon, after having given myſelf all the eaſe I could for three years at home. The king ſmiled, and ſaid, he would anſwer for me. I told him, that would give me confidence; but there was another point I deſired to govern myſelf, which was, that my lord Arlington having told me I was to go ambaſſador, I had no mind to charge myſelf with that character upon ſo ſudden a journey, and an affair that ought to be ſudden too. That the greateſt piece of ſervice I had ever done him, in all my employments abroad, which was that of the triple alliance, I had treated and conducted in five days, and with the character of envoy; and I was confident, I could never have done it if I had been ambaſſador:

that

that the ceremonies of it hindered the buſineſs where it preſſed: that having been twice ambaſſador, I needed not to value myſelf upon this occaſion, eſpecially in Holland, where I was well enough known; and therefore I deſired I might go with the character of envoy extraordinary, and for this particular affair only of the peace. That when this was made, his majeſty might ſend what perſon, and what character, he pleaſed over, to reſide there, and go on with the meaſures he ſhould have taken.

The king ſeemed very much to approve what I ſaid; and told me, that of ambaſſador was only thought of becauſe I had been ambaſſador before, and they thought I would not be content to go without it; but he ſaw I was a wiſer man, and I ſhould not loſe by it; for, thought I went without the character, yet I ſhould have the pay of an ambaſſador; and if I ſhould ſtay in Holland after the peace was made, I ſhould then have the character. Hereupon, in two days time, my inſtructions were drawn up, my ſmall equipage prepared, and my ſervants ſent before to Harwich, where I intended to follow poſt the day after; but I would not ſuffer either my wife or ſiſter to engage in ſo haſty a journey, and at ſo ill a time of the year; though they were neither of them willing to let me go away alone, out of care of my health, which I promiſed to take myſelf, and deſerve their good opinion in it.

The very day I was to go, came in an expreſs from Holland, with full powers from the ſtates to the marquis of Freſno (the Spaniſh ambaſſador here) to treat and conclude the peace. My lord Arlington immediately acquainted me with it, and deſired I would go to the king, who was then at the houſe of lords, and tell him this new incident, and know his pleaſure upon it; his lordſhip ſeeming a little in pain at my part in it; but I told him, I thought the buſineſs had this

way a better turn than they themſelves had given it; that it would not only be diſpatched here with leſs time, but with more honour to his majeſty than at the Hague; that, for my part, I was ſo far from being diſappointed, that I was very glad of it; that I confeſſed I wiſhed the thing; but ſo it were done, was not fond of having any part in it; and therefore was of opinion, they ſhould preſently fall in treaty with the marquis, and ſo I would go and tell the king.

I will not tell you how pleaſed my lord Arlington was with this anſwer, nor how obliging things he ſaid to me upon it; but I was ſorry he knew me ſo ill as not to expect it, the thing being ſo right. I went to the king, ſaid the ſame to him, which found the ſame reception; and he told me, though I did not treat it at the Hague, yet he was ſure I ſhould treat it here; and accordingly he ſent for the marquis that afternoon, and told him, he would ſend me to him that evening to fall into the treaty; and that, if he could agree with me, he ſhould reckon upon the thing as done.

I had my orders, went to the marquis, and we concluded all points in three days, though there was one of ſome difficulty: the inſtruments were diſpatched with the ſame diligence, and ſigned by the marquis and the king's commiſſioners; and ſo that great affair ended, to the infinite ſatisfaction of all people here, as I doubt not it will be in Spain and Holland, and give a great turn to the conjunctures abroad.

Some days after this concluſion, my lord Arlington told me, the king thought fit to recal Sir William Godolphin out of Spain upon ſeveral conſiderations, but chiefly upon reports that had run of his religion, which would not be very pleaſing to the parliament, with whom the king was reſolved to live well; and therefore had ordered him to make me the offer of going into Spain. That having been ambaſſador in ordinary ſo long ago, the king thought it was but reaſon

I ſhould

I ſhould make ſome advance, and ſo would have me go ambaſſador extraordinary; which, to that crown, was the employment of moſt dignity, and moſt advantage of any other abroad.

I deſired his lordſhip to make his majeſty my moſt humble acknowledgments for ſo many ſuch unſought for honours, which were beyond what I could deſerve. But that the thing was new; and that I had learnt, by a Spaniſh proverb, not to make a ſudden anſwer to a ſudden queſtion; that, beſides, the journey was long, and you formerly had an averſion to my undertaking it; that I could not do it now without firſt conſulting you, whom I would not diſobey; that I therefore deſired his lordſhip to excuſe my anſwering the king till I had written, and had an anſwer from you.

This is all I have to ſay, but that I leave it with you, to conſult, if you pleaſe, with my brother, and ſend me your reſolution as ſoon as you can. I find my wife inclined to it, both upon reſpects of advantages to my fortune and my health, which ſhe thinks ſuffered much in Holland. My ſiſter, though the better Spaniard, has no great mind to it. For my own part, I am pretty indifferent; I like the climate; but you know I never cared for a remove, being ever apt to like the place and condition I am in; and if I have a mind to mend it, I believe I cannot want occaſions, upon this great revolution, and the return of our councils to the point where I left them three or four years ago.

I ſhall give you no farther trouble at this time, but expect your anſwer; and remain ever, Sir, your, *&c.*

To the Prince of Orange.

SIR, London, February 28, 1673-4.

I Thought your highneſs would not be diſpleaſed with receiving thoſe marks of kindneſs from his majeſty and the duke, which they intended you by me, though you have, I know, received others of a freſher date. Therefore, by leave from them both, I ſend you incloſed the letters I had the honour to be charged with when I kiſſed their hands upon my intended journey into Holland. The compliments I was commanded to carry your highneſs from their mouths (beſides what went from their hands) were, I will aſſure you, very particular, eſpecially thoſe from his majeſty; to tell you how great an inducement to the peace your highneſs's advancement to the hereditary dignity had been, and with how much more confidence he could now fall into good meaſures with Holland than before. And thoſe from the duke, when at the end of a great deal ſpoken very kindly, he bid me aſſure you, that he looked upon your highneſs's intereſts as the ſame with the king's and his own; and that if there were any thing wherein you could uſe his ſervice you might be ſure of it. I replied, 'Pray, Sir, remember, there is nothing you 'except, and you do not know how far a young prince's 'deſire may go; but I am reſolved to tell him what 'you ſay, and, if there be occaſion, to be a witneſs of 'it.' The duke ſmiled, 'Well, well, you may tell 'him what I bid you:' upon which I ſaid, 'At leaſt 'I will tell the prince, that you ſmiled when I told 'you ſo, which, I am ſure, is a great deal better than 'if you had frowned.' I know your highneſs will eaſily pardon me for entertaining you with theſe circumſtances; but I will ſay no more of this kind unleſs you give me encouragement, nor of any other, to in-

creaſe

creaſe your trouble at this time, unleſs it be, that if in any thing, either ſmall or great, your highneſs can find my ſervices uſeful to you here, you will ever find them at your devotion, in a manner very particular; and that no man alive can be with more paſſion, or more truth, Sir, your highneſs's moſt obedient and moſt humble ſervant.

To Sir John Temple.

SIR, London, March 27, 1674.

UPON your expreſſion of ſo much diſlike to my journey into Spain, I acquainted the king with it; and gave that for the only reaſon of my excuſing myſelf from it. I made his majeſty, at the ſame time, the greateſt acknowledgments I could, for the honour he had done me by the offer of it; and aſſured him, how glad I ſhould be to deſerve ſo good an opinion, as he had pleaſed to expreſs, in thinking me worthy of an employment, which, for my own part, I eſteemed one of the beſt he had to give. The king was pleaſed to reply very graciouſly, that he thought ſo too, but yet he intended me a better; that he had been long engaged in the remove at preſent deſigned, but that upon the next, he was reſolved I ſhould have it. He was pleaſed to ſay no more, but walked away; and I ſeemed to take no notice of what he meant. But the day after, I told all that had paſſed to my lord Arlington: he ſeemed a good deal ſurprized at my refuſing the Spaniſh embaſſy, and ſaid, he believed the king had few ſubjects that would not be glad of it; that he had ſo little expected it, that he had told the marquis of Freſno of the king's reſolution in it; that, for his own part, unleſs I was ſure of his ſecretary's place, he ſhould not yet adviſe me to refuſe the other.

This was ſaid with a face, and in a way, ſomething graver than his has been of late towards me, and, I confeſs, ſurprized me more than he pretended I had done him. I told him, that I did not at all know what he meant by ſaying, if I were not ſure of his ſecretary's place: that it was a thing I never had once in my thoughts, but when he had put it there a great while ago, upon the reſolution of Sir John Trevor's coming into the other: that my circumſtances had been ſince much changed, and he knew I had thought of nothing but my garden and a private life for theſe three or four years paſt, till the king ſent for me upon this peace with Holland: that he knew what had paſſed ſince, and he knew all, for I was no man of myſtery nor intrigue: that I went abroad when the king called me, and I liked my errand; and when theſe did not happen, I ſtayed at home. But I was ſtill deſirous to know what gave him occaſion of ſaying that to me; for what the king had ſaid could not be interpreted to mean any ſuch thing.

He told me, that he knew I was related to my lord treaſurer, and heard I was much in his favour; that he was now the great man, and could do what he pleaſed, and thought he might do this among other things: and could not imagine I would refuſe the Spaniſh embaſſy unleſs my lord treaſurer and I had agreed upon the other. I found where this matter pinched, and ſaid, ſmiling, that he was never more miſtaken in his life; that it was true, my wife was related to my lord treaſurer, and that we were great companions when we were both together young travellers and tennis players in France; but that for near twenty years paſt we had not at all fallen in one another's way, till upon what had paſſed ſince the late councils, about a peace with Holland, in which our opinions ſeemed to agree; that, ſince, we had met ſometimes, but not often, nor in any confidences; that

that I knew he was a great man, but could not tell yet to what points of the compaſs he intended to ſteer; that I left him, as I did every body elſe, to take his own meaſures, and for mine, he knew very well how little I troubled my friends about them.

Upon this he began with another countenance, than in the beginning of this converſation, to tell me, that he eaſily believed all I told him; that he was ſo far from diſliking my being well with my lord treaſurer, how ill ſoever he was with me, that he adviſed me, as a friend, to be as well with him as I could: that he confeſſed he thought I might have entered with him into a concert of getting into this place inſtead of Sir Joſeph Williamſon, which would have been no injury to him, for he knew I would not think of it but upon the ſame terms as the other: that ſince we were fallen into this diſcourſe, he would go farther with me, and tell me, it was true he had a good while had a mind to leave the toil of his place, and, perhaps, the envy; and ſo had agreed with Sir Joſeph Williamſon to come in, and give him ſix thouſand pounds when my lord St. Albans ſhould be willing to part with the chamberlain's ſtaff, for which he was to give him ten: that my lord St. Albans had been of late very much unreſolved in this matter, and he knew not when he would fix; that whenever he did, he was engaged in the other to Sir Joſeph Williamſon, by the king's conſent, and would do nothing to break it. But if I had a mind, and could make intereſt enough in my lord treaſurer to turn it another way, and bring my lord St. Albans to a reſolution, he would leave me wholly to play my own game; and, for his own part, it ſhould be all one to him from whom he received the ſix thouſand pounds; and he would not only be paſſive in it, but if the king ſhould aſk his opinion, as to the fitneſs or capacity of the perſons,

perſons, he would tell it him freely, with all the preference to me that I deſerved.

I gave his lordſhip many thanks for the kindneſs and frankneſs of this diſcourſe; but I told him, I believed it need go no farther: that, for my own part, I was both againſt his going out of the ſecretary's place, and againſt my own, or any body's, coming into it for money; and I ended this converſation with ſaying a great deal to diſſuade him from leaving his place.

About three or four days after, Mr. Sidney told me, that my lord Arlington had ſpoken to Mr. Mountague about what had paſſed between us, and with a great deal of kindneſs of me, eſpecially for being ſo earneſt with him to keep his place, and the reaſons I had given him for it; but yet in the belief that I ought not to neglect this occaſion, becauſe he was reſolved. Mr. Sidney was mighty earneſt with me to reſolve too; and next day Mr. Mountague ſpoke to me himſelf, and believed nothing could ſtick with me, unleſs it were taking up the money; he offered to help me to it, which was more than I had reaſon to expect from him or any man elſe. My wife is enough inclined I ſhould do it, though ſhe and my children run moſt hazard in it, if I ſhould die, and leave my eſtate charged with ſuch a debt, which, though ſmall at preſent, yet, I thank God, is clear. For my own part, I confeſs, I find no motions about me towards it, and ſhould have thought the Spaniſh embaſſy a much better employment. I have ever deteſted the cuſtom grown amongſt us of ſelling places, and much more thoſe of ſo much importance to the crown. I think it no great honour to be preferred before Sir Joſeph Williamſon, and yet I would not do him an injury neither, as this would ſeem to be. I have ſeen ſuch changes at court, that I know not yet what to make of this laſt; and ſtill remember poor Monſieur

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de Witt's word of, *fluctuation perpetuelle dans la conduite d'Angleterre*; which of all things in the world I am not made for, and had rather, once for all, break my head with going on, than be wrenching myself continually with sudden turns. I need say no more of this matter; it lies before you. Pray please to talk with my brother about it; it is what the family is concerned in more than I; and, therefore, pray let me receive your judgment upon it, which in this, as all things else, shall ever have the greatest weight with, Sir, your obedient son, *&c.*

To Sir John Temple.

SIR, Sheen, May 16, 1674.

I Have wholly followed your opinion, both in declining the motion about the secretary's place, and in fixing that of Holland; since I find that the only present employment you are content with for me, and you are not content with none. My lord Arlington seemed to take what I said to him upon both very indifferently, and though at first he raised a scruple about my going into Holland, in regard of a certain lord's having been very hot for some time in the pursuit of it, yet when I persisted in it, upon the king's having in February designed me for it of his own motion, he advised me to take my measures, as well as I could, with my lord treasurer about the main point, which was what related to the exchequer; and for the king, he knew very well there would be no difficulty. Both these are now settled; the king has resolved to send me over ambassador extraordinary to the States, and my lord treasurer is, after some contest, fallen into the terms I insisted, which is, to equal me with the other embassies of the crowns; and so I engaged in my preparations for this journey. His majesty is resolved I shall offer his meditation to

the States in their preſent war with France. If it be accepted by them and all the parties, I reckon he will be maſter of the peace, and the parties be hindered from making their ſeparate treaties, when they are once engaged in a general one. I hope you will like what is done as much as you ſeemed before to deſire it; which is all I aſk, and leave the reſt to God Almighty for what is to come.

I reſolve to take my whole family over; but yet that my wife and ſon ſhall firſt make you a viſit, ſince I ſee you will not think of coming over. It is their turn now, and my ſiſter and I will go firſt into Holland; though we ſhould both be very glad to wait upon you again, if it could have been allowed us. But my wife will not conſent to my going without either her or my ſiſter; and ſhe has a great mind to carry over her ſon to you herſelf, after having been ſo long in France, and at an age when commonly the great changes are made, which you will judge of when you ſee him. I ſhall at preſent give you no farther trouble than the profeſſions of my being ever, Sir, your *&c.*

To Mr. Secretary Coventry.

SIR, Hague, July 17, N. S. 1674.

I Ordered an account of my arrival here on Friday laſt to be given Mr. Cook by that night's poſt, which being all I had then to ſay, I thought might well ſave you any farther trouble at that time. On Saturday morning I ſent to the penſioner Fagel, to deſire an hour of ſeeing him ſome time that day; he excuſed it, but ſent me word withal, that he would not fail of coming to me ſome time in the evening; which he performed in a viſit about two hours long. After the compliments on both ſides, I fell upon theſe points with him: the ſatisfaction his majeſty had received in the late peace with the ſtates; his deſires and reſolu-

reſolutions to continue and cultivate it; the reaſon he had to content himſelf with the poſture and advantages in which he ſtood, by a peace with all his neighbours, while they were all engaged in a war; that, if his bounty and piety did not prevail with him farther than his intereſts, he ſhould ſit down with his own peace, and not trouble himſelf farther about that of Chriſtendom; but theſe diſpoſitions, and the deſire of ſo general a good, had engaged him to offer his mediation in the preſent quarrels; that it had been accepted by France, and promiſed to be conſidered of by the emperor and Spain, in concert with their allies: that the ſtates ambaſſadors in England, who underſtood our conſtitution, and the diſpoſitions of the king our maſter, better than ſtrangers could do, had promiſed all their offices, that his majeſty's offer might be accepted here, and that the parties might conſent to the choice of London for the place of treaty; and thereupon I had brought over a letter from his majeſty to the ſtates, with the offer of his mediation; that they ought to believe, that, if his majeſty were partial to any ſide, it muſt be to that wherein his own nephew was ſo nearly concerned; and that they ought to think ſo the rather, ſince his majeſty made the offers of mediation at a time when all the advantages of the war had run ſo high on the French ſide, and were, in all appearance, likely to do ſo ſtill; that, perhaps, if his majeſty had ſeen Flanders like to be defended by the arms of the confederates, he might have ſpared or delayed this office; that they knew he underſtood his intereſt too well, to be content to ſee Flanders loſt; and that his honour would not ſuffer him, no more than the condition in which the laſt war hath left him, to go about preſerving it any other way, than that of a peace: that his majeſty would be very glad ſuch a one might be made, as would leave Flanders in a better poſture of defending itſelf, than

it was before, by laying the Spaniſh territories together more in a round than the laſt peace left them; and, that when this ſhould be concluded, I did not doubt, but they would find his majeſty ready to enter into the beſt and ſtrongeſt guaranties of it they could deſire.

I need not trouble you, to tell you how this matter paſſed between us; but ſum up together what all I drew from him in the laſt conference amounted to. He firſt gave me thanks for the advice I had given their ambaſſadors there, and ſaid, he ſhould be glad I would always be their counſellor, how they ought to comport themſelves to his majeſty upon all occaſions. He fell into a relation of the forces of their preſent league, eſpecially by the conjunction of the duke of Brandenburgh, whoſe treaty with the emperor and them, he aſſured me, was abſolutely concluded, ſo as to bring them into an offenſive part of the war: that though they could not expect another ſo great conjuncture, and had but too great teſtimonies of the ill-will of France, particularly to this ſtate, yet they had no other thoughts but only of gaining ſuch a peace, as might leave them and their allies out of danger upon a new invaſion from France: that, for their own part, they had recovered all they had loſt, except Grave, which they hoped ſuddenly for a good account of, being already inveſted by Monſieur Ralenhoupt; for Maſtricht they had given up by agreement to the Spaniards: that it was impoſſible for them to leave their allies, who, under God, had ſaved their ſtate from abſolute ruin; but whatever terms of peace they would conſent to, would ſatisfy the States: that they believed Spain would be moderate; and though their treaty with that crown obligeth them to the terms of the Pyrennées, yet there is a clauſe, which alloweth it to be altered by conſent: that they apprehend Sweden as too partial to France, but are content to make his

majeſty

majeſty arbiter in all their affairs; and to this end, that they were reſolved to accept of the mediation, were willing that London ſhould be the place of congreſs, and that they would leave it to his majeſty there, either to propoſe the ſcheme of a peace himſelf, or to retrench and adjuſt, according to his prudence and equity, what propoſitions ſhould be made on each ſide by the parties themſelves: that they would perform all the offices they could, to induce the emperor and Spain to agree with them in theſe points, both by the ſtates writing effectually to their miniſters in thoſe two courts, and by his ſpeaking earneſtly both with the Imperial and Spaniſh miniſters here: that he was ſatisfied how ſafe their intereſt would lie in his majeſty's hands; and that this ſtate would ever make it their endeavour to deſerve the friendſhip and protection of the crown of England, by which they knew it could beſt be preſerved, as well as it had at firſt been raiſed.

After this conference with the penſioner, I thought it beſt to neglect no time in the delivery of my letters, and ſo went that evening to the preſident of the week and put into his hands, both that of credence, and the other of mediation; which were both received by him with great applauſes upon the ſubject of the peace, and the recovery of his majeſty's favour and friendſhip to this ſtate.

Upon Sunday afternoon, the preſident, to whom I had delivered my letters, came to me, and told me, he was ordered by the ſtates-general to attend me with the account of their having peruſed his majeſty's letters; upon the firſt, he made me their compliments, which being chiefly perſonal, need no relation. Upon the letters which carried his majeſty's offer of mediation, he ſaid, Without doubt, the States would receive it with joy and with thanks; but being engaged to ſeveral allies, they could not do it without firſt com-

communicating it to them; which they would do immediately, and in ſuch a manner, as they queſtioned not to induce them to accept it too. I told him, that the emperor and Spain having put their delay in accepting of it upon their allies, by whom I underſtood the ſtates to be meant; I expected, at leaſt, that the ſtates would have accepted it, as to themſelves, or their part in the quarrel. But he ſaid, that itſelf could not be done by their agreement, without a communication, which they hoped his majeſty would not interpret ill, ſince it could produce but the delay of ſome few days, and was meant to extend the acceptance of their allies. I deſired him to let the ſtates know, however, what I had expected in this point; and aſked him, whether they would not have been glad, that upon his majeſty's offer of mediation to all the parties, France had refuſed it, or made difficulties upon it, and the confederates had accepted it with the beſt grace that could be? he confeſſed he would; upon which, I told him, Then they had reaſon to be ſorry that juſt the contrary had happened. He ſeemed to be touched, and ſaid, he would likewiſe report this to the ſtates.

I have not ſince been able to ſee the penſioner, nor the preſident of the week; and therefore ſhall only ſay in general, that though the aſſurances I received from the firſt, and the account I had from the laſt, ſeem a little different; yet I am confident his majeſty may reckon that an obſtruction of the peace will not ariſe from hence. For, beſides the general diſpoſitions and intereſts of traders, and the jealouſies natural between the civil and military power; I find their payments are on all hands too great to be long continued; their hopes are very moderate from the ſucceſſes of their armies or fleets; and I ſee no advantages that they propoſe to themſelves, though both ſhould proſper, beſide the running France a little

more out of breath, ſo that the peace may be probable to laſt the longer.

I find the penſioner is the great man here, and acts all under the prince's influence, though not without ſome diſtaſte among the richer ſort of people in the towns. He is a perſon whoſe diſpoſitions may, I am confident, be proved to make him as partial to England, as thoſe of his predeceſſor were eſteemed to France, in caſe there were any compoſition of thoſe two intereſts here. The point upon which I judge this to turn chiefly, is that of religion, in which I find him, by his diſcourſes, very warm; and hear by others that he hath it very much at heart. I am ever, Sir, your moſt, *&c.*

To the Prince of Orange.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs, Hague, Aug. 1, 1674.

THough I could not kiſs your highneſs's hands, in the way I deſired, immediately upon my arrival here, yet I could not forbear the doing of it this way, upon the very firſt occaſion; and aſſuring your highneſs, with how much ambition, both of attending and ſerving you, I enter upon this employment; which, without theſe motives, would be but a point of mere obedience, and not at all of inclination. This, I am ſure, your highneſs will believe, when I have the honour of entertaining you upon thoſe points, wherein his majeſty has pleaſed to inſtruct me, and which makes me ſo impatient to attend you, that I ſhall not ſtay to ſatisfy the forms here, but only to recover health enough for another journey and paſſage of ſea, that uſed me very ill. I hope this will happen within a day or two, and give me the occaſion both of acquitting myſelf of his majeſty's commands, and of expreſſing ſome part of that devotion wherewith I

have been ſo long, and ſhall be ever, Sir, your highneſs's, *&c.*

To the Prince of Orange.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs, Hague, Aug. 18. 1674.

WHatever the ſucceſſes of the late battle have been, or the conſequences ſhall prove, your highneſs may be content to hear from a plain man, and who has no vein of flattery about him, that the accounts of your friends, your allies, and your enemies, how much ſoever they differ in other points, yet agree perfectly in giving your highneſs all the applauſes and renown upon this occaſion, that are due to the greateſt captain and boldeſt ſoldier. I cannot but give your highneſs the joy of it, and put you in mind, at the ſame time, how reaſonable it is, that in ſuch adventures hereafter, you ſhould manage your life ſomething the better, for having managed your glory ſo well in this *. 'Tis not fit to give your highneſs longer interruptions, and therefore I ſhall end this with my wiſhes for your ſafety, ſince thoſe for your fortunes and honour have ſucceeded ſo well. I am ever, with that devotion and truth which become me, Sir, your highneſs's moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Hague, September 4, N. S. 1674.

I Was very glad to find, by yours of the 11th paſt, the good intentions with which the marquis de Freſno parted from you. If he can infuſe them into the miniſters at Madrid, it will be a great point gained toward the peace, and ſuch as, joined to the diſpoſitions

* The battle of *Seneffe*.

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we ſhall meet here, will not leave room for the imperial councils to avoid the progreſs of it. In the diſcourſes I hold here upon this ſubject with the chief perſons of the ſtates, when I tell them how the peace is like to be hindered by intereſts wholly foreign to theirs, it is grown a common word amongſt them, *Je ne dis mot, mais je voudrois fort la paix:* and you may certainly reckon upon all that can be done towards it from hence, when this campaign ends; and before that, I am apt to think ſo much that nothing will be done, as to believe the leſs 'tis offered at the better. Sir Gabriel Sylvius left the prince in the belief, that there would be another battle; and they tell me here, there is ſome great deſign reſolved of by the confederates, which muſt be ſuddenly executed; becauſe all agree, that the imperial troops have orders to march towards the Rhine by the middle of next month. Sir Gabriel tells me likewiſe, that at his coming away, he aſked the prince, whether he would be willing I ſhould come to him any where while he continued in the field? but that his highneſs anſwered, *Qu'il ſeroit fort éloigné, & ſes marches incertaines, que la campagne s'achevroit bientôt, & qu' alors il me verroit à la Haye.* Notwithſtanding all this, which is no more than I have known long enough, yet I have ſo well followed your lordſhip's advice, in underſtanding what had paſſed, juſt as the prince was willing I ſhould, that I am pretty confident I ſhall be as well with him at his return as the king can wiſh, for the advance of the ſervice I have in charge. I am aſſured by one, to whom monſieur de Mareſtes (the French miniſter here, who has great credit with the prince) told it a little before his highneſs left the Hague, that upon diſcourſe, in private, concerning the affairs of England, and my coming over, the prince ſaid, *Qu'il avoit telle opinion de ma probité qu'il croiroit tout ce que je lui dirois là-deſſus:* what the late accident between us may have produced,

I know not; but by a letter I received this morning, in anſwer to one I wrote upon the late fight, I could not believe any thing amiſs there. I ſend your lordſhip a copy of it, becauſe this is his own, though the laſt might very well be another ſtyle, as you gueſſed.

I likewiſe incloſed what I ſaid to the ſtates at my audience, which I hope his majeſty will find conformable to what he intended, which I ſhould be glad to know; and for the reſt of that troubleſome ceremony, I will only tell you, that it paſſed very well on all ſides, and I am ſure on mine, with a great deal more expence than any embaſſy I have ever ſeen here; which (conſidering the courſe of my natural humour, when I am private) his majeſty may very well attribute to the regard of his honour; that ought to be the greater, the worſe I found the repreſentations made from England hither, of the poſture of our affairs, and eſpecially of the revenue. After this, I am like to be idle for a month or ſix weeks, that is till the return of the prince; and if I am left to myſelf, I will not be too buſy, which is a part rather over-acted by my brother ambaſſador here, upon the point of mediation, and is grown to be taken for ſo much of little to the purpoſe. But when the prince comes, if his majeſty gives me leave to take my times and ways, and continues in the mind I left him, of deſiring ſuch a peace as might leave Flanders defenſible, and can but procure powers from Spain to any perſon within my reach here; I am pretty confident, by all the proſpects I have on every ſide, that it will be a buſineſs within compaſs. I am not leſs confident of ſetting all things right between his majeſty and the prince, and thereby preventing the ſeeds of any future miſchiefs in the royal family; both which works I deſire you will aſſure his majeſty, ſhall be purſued with all my ſkill and induſtry, and in the ways I conceive moſt conducing to their ſucceſs; and if I have the honour of atchieving them, it will be enough

enough for ſuch a life as mine; and the king will then give me leave, I hope, to go and ſleep at home, and leave my ſon in a buſy world, which requires men ſpirited with ſome other heats than I have about me. If upon his coming over, you can find any thing you would have ſaid to me, tho' he be young, yet I am pretty confident he may be truſted with it; for he has a good plain ſteady head, and is deſirous to do well.

I do not trouble you with any current news, having caſt a digeſtion of all that occurs here of that kind upon my ſecretary; as being unwilling to anſwer for what one hears, though perhaps it may be fit to tell with the very uncertainties that attend it. However, I take care he ſhall be as well informed as can be compaſſed in this place. I am ever, moſt affectionately, your, *&c.*

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord, Hague, Sept. 4, N. S. 1674.

I Know ſo well how many neceſſary troubles attend ſo great perſons as your lordſhip, that I have been very unwilling at all to encreaſe them by any that are unneceſſary from hence; and ſuch, I am ſure, all muſt be that come this way, ſince yonr lordſhip has whatever you are content to be troubled with of my conſtant diſpatches to Mr. Secretary. However, I could not ſatisfy myſelf to be wholly out of your memory, and therefore reſolved to make an ill way to it rather than none; tho' I had much rather put in my claim to it, by ſerving your lordſhip, than by troubling you. The diſpoſitions here are ſtrong towards a peace, and, I hear, they are not weak in France. Spain would be glad to make a good war, but fears an ill one; which, by the diviſion of their councils and miniſters, may well fall to their ſhare. The empe-

ror is moſt eager of the four to keep up the ball, being armed at others coſt, and growing into greater conſideration by it at home, whatſoever he does abroad. Sweden would, I believe, be glad to draw the ſtakes they have in their keeping, without entering into the game; and though they have treaties concluded with France, and begin to arm with their money, yet they preſs on the mediation with all the inſtances they can, in hope that way to excuſe themſelves from any ſhare in this year's action. Denmark only obſerves the motion of that crown, and will be ever in the other ſcale.

The prince of Orange is, I doubt, reſolved to have more honour yet before this campaign ends, though he had his full ſhare of it in the laſt action of Seneffe, and more than his ſhare of the danger. This makes us here expect another battle or ſiege very ſuddenly; and while ſo great adventures are ſtirring, no man can judge the events of the year. I incloſe a copy of what I ſaid to the ſtates laſt week at my public audience, that your lordſhip may judge whether it be conformable to his majeſty's intentions, which you are better acquainted with.

Among the many pieces of juſtice your lordſhip does every day to indifferent men, I hope you will not refuſe me that of believing me always what I am with paſſion and truth, my lord, your lordſhip's moſt faithful, and moſt humble ſervant.

To Mr. Secretary Coventry.

SIR, Hague, Sept. 17, N. S. 1674.

THIS day I received a viſit from the penſioner, wherein he told me, firſt, that by letters from Vienna he had great hopes given him, that his majeſty's mediation would be accepted by that court, and that this advice was ſeconded by the emperor's miniſters here; though he ſaid, he found by both, that his majeſty's

majeſty's ſubjects having had ſo great a ſhare in the laſt action between monſieur Turenne and the imperial forces, was taken very unkindly by that court, and other princes of the empire. He told me beſides, that he had a particular advice from the ſtates miniſters at Vienna, that monſieur Puffendorf, the Swediſh envoy there, endeavoured under-hand all he could to hinder the accepting his majeſty's mediation by that court, which he (the penſioner) could not apprehend the reaſon of; unleſs it were, that the Swedes had no mind to ſee the preſent game end without making yet ſome more advantages of it; or that they had a deſire to remain the ſole arbiter of the Munſter peace; whereas, the interpretation of ſome articles of it might be referred to his majeſty, in caſe his mediation ſhould now be accepted by the empire. But upon this point the penſioner concluded, that if this matter ſhould be much longer delayed, by either the court at Vienna, or Madrid, this ſtate would let them know, that they abſolutely accepted his majeſty's mediation, which he did not doubt would be followed by a concurrence from them both.

After this, he told me, that upon the repreſentations he had made to the prince of what had paſſed between us here upon the ſubject of the peace, he had received orders from his highneſs to come to me, and deſired to know more particularly what his majeſty's intentions were in this matter, and upon what terms his majeſty deſired the peace ſhould be made; and to aſſure me, that when he knew them, his highneſs would endeavour that this ſtate ſhould comply all that could be with them; and that, as to what concerned themſelves, he knew they would be content to leave all to his majeſty's own arbitrage; and he did not doubt, though they could not treat apart from their allies, yet they might go a great way in diſpoſing them to receive any overture that ſhould be made of a

ſafe and laſting peace. He told me farther, that his orders from the prince were to enter into this matter only with me, and without the communication of their ambaſſadors in England, becauſe he thought it was the better, the fewer hands it paſſed.

I told the penſioner, I would not fail letting his majeſty know all that he had ſaid to me from the prince, and returning him an anſwer more particularly, ſo ſoon as I received it; in the mean time, I was ſure, that it would be taken kindly by his majeſty; and that the more confidence he expreſſed of the king's kindneſs to him, as well as of the juſtice in the buſineſs of the mediation, the more reaſon he would have to rely upon both. That for the terms of the peace, I could only ſay in general, that his majeſty deſired, as well as they, that it may be laſting and ſafe, being equally concerned in preſerving Flanders, which was only in danger; but for particulars, I thought it was not the part of a mediator to propoſe the terms, but rather receive ſuch as ſhould be propoſed by both parties, and endeavour to agree them, by moderating what ſhould ſeem exceſſive, and finding expedients for what was difficult in either of theſe demands. That on the French ſide, all being in the hands of one prince, it might be reſolved in a day; but the intereſts and intentions of ſeveral confederates were harder to agree upon; and therefore I thought the propoſitions towards a peace ought to begin from thence; which if his majeſty were once poſſeſſed of, he would endeavour to make them go as far as they could with France; therefore I told him, that as I would tranſmit to his majeſty the prince's deſire of knowing the king's intentions in this matter, ſo they ought to know what terms Spain propoſed to themſelves, after a campaign paſt with ſo great expectation and ſo little advantage on the confederate ſide.

The

The penſioner told me, I had reaſon in all I ſaid, and that he would ſpeak with don Emanuel de Lyra, who he found had ſo good credit in this court, that he had never yet been diſavowed in any thing he had undertaken for. He ſaid, he knew it was a diſadvantageous time for them to talk of a peace now, but that, he hoped, they might yet have ſome ſucceſs before the campaign ended, which he deſired for nothing ſo much, as for the ſooner obtaining the peace, ſince it might look unreaſonable for them to demand the reſtitution of places conquered in Flanders laſt war; and yet it was abſolutely unſafe for them to have that country in the poſture it was upon the treaty of Aix; that if this could be admitted, they were ſure of the peace, for he had received new inſtances from the count d'Eſtrades, by the penſioner of Maeſtricht, who had been with him again that very morning, and aſſured him, that what the count propoſed was not only from himſelf, but by orders from his maſter; and hereupon he repeated to me what I wrote to you before of that propoſition, which was grounded upon the treaty of Aix, the reſtoring commerce to the ſtate as it was in 1662; and Maeſtricht to the prince of Orange, but not to the Spaniard. From this he fell into the ſcheme of their preſent affairs, aſſuring himſelf of Grave in a fortnight's time; of the imperial army on the Rhine growing very ſtrong, and monſieur Turenne's very weak, as likewiſe monſieur Schomberg's in Rouſillon, where the campaign was but now beginning; and for the reſt, excuſing, as well as he could, the ill ſucceſs of their fleet under monſieur de Ruyter, and ſaying, they ſhould draw four thouſand men out of it upon their coming home for re-inforcing their armies; and a great deal of this kind, which ſignified no more than the reſolution of making the reſt of this campaign.

In

In the mean time, his majeſty has it in his choice to open a negotiation of the peace, either by telling them here his own thoughts or intentions as to the terms of it, or elſe, by receiving from them ſuch propoſitions upon it, as may be firſt digeſted here between don Emanuel de Lyra and the penſioner, and this I ſhall endeavour all I can to bring to ſome head; and, let it be as rough as it will at firſt, it will be the proper part of a mediator afterwards to work it into the beſt form that it is capable of receiving. For this end I am reſolved to find out ſome expedient or other to meet with don Emanuel de Lyra, who hath not yet ſeen me, upon the points of ceremony that lie between our characters. For the preſent, I ſhall only ſay, upon the whole matter, that I believe, in caſe France can be induced to leave ſuch a frontier in Flanders as may be thought defenſible, and ſo leave no ſuſpicions of their deſign to begin a new war when they are in a better poſture, and theſe countries in a worſe to purſue it; the buſineſs of the peace will hardly fail, nor any intereſt, either private or foreign, prevail with this ſtate to go on with the war. But, on the other ſide, if this point cannot be gained, I believe the diſpoſitions here, how paſſionate ſoever towards a peace, will not have the force to bring it about; but that they will rather content themſelves to leſſen their own charge, by ſending out no more fleets, and only maintaining a body of five-and-twenty or thirty thouſand men at land, which, as auxiliary forces, may, upon occaſion, join with the Imperial or Spaniſh troops, who ſhall be left as principal in the war. I am ever, Sir, your, &c.

To

To Mr. Secretary Coventry.

SIR, Hague, September 13, N. S. 1674.

IN one of my late letters I gave you notice of the many complaints made me by the Engliſh merchants here, concerning the ſeizure of their ſhips by the French and Spaniſh privateers, to the great diſcouragement of our trade, and damage of his majeſty's ſubjects. The merchants here were not content, it ſeems, with the promiſes I made them of repreſenting this matter to the king; but have ſince ſent me a formal petition upon this ſubject (which I here incloſe) and written to me, at the ſame time a very earneſt letter to recommend it to your favour, which I could not refuſe to do, believing it indeed myſelf to be a buſineſs of the ſame conſequence they repreſent it, and therefore very well worthy of his majeſty's conſiderations; for the matter of paſſes, mentioned in their petition, I have hitherto refuſed to give them, as having received no orders in that point; though the merchants here pretend to have notice from England, that ſuch orders have been tranſmitted to me. When they come I ſhall obey them, but in the mean time have excuſed myſelf, notwithſtanding all their importunity.

I ſhall increaſe this trouble no farther, than by my profeſſions of being always, Sir, your moſt faithful humble ſervant.

To Mr. Secretary Coventry.

SIR, Hague, October 5, N. S. 1674.

I Have none from you of late to acknowledge, and doubt I lie too much out of your way to expect any longer the honour of that correſpondence with which my employment here began, and which I eſteemed

eſteemed one of the beſt circumſtances that attended it. Sir Joſeph Williamſon gave me notice laſt poſt both of his promotion and of the affairs of this province being fallen under his care, as likewiſe of what commands his majeſty had that day ordered to be tranſmitted to me; whereupon I make him this day the uſual diſpatch in return. I know not whether by this change you will be able to get wholly out of my reach; becauſe, you know, it is hard for a man to loſe a good haunt or an ill cuſtom; and I ſhall not be content to forfeit the profeſſion of your favour or memory, for want of ſometimes laying claim to it. I muſt, however, rejoice with you upon your removal to better climates, and more proſperous ſcenes; eſpecially at a time when the affairs of this have ſo very ill an aſpect, by the diſſentions and diſtruſts among the generals of the confederates, which, I may tell you, are to the laſt degree, and the moſt criminal; and ſuch, as have not only ruined their affairs this campaign, but muſt do ſo while theſe men are in play. I will not give you both a long and an unneceſſary trouble; what uſe you will make of me here, and in what degree, ſhall be in your own diſpoſal; for no man is with more truth nor eſteem than I am, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, October 5, N. S. 1674.

THough I gave you joy of the ſecretary's place before I came away, and deſired your protection, as looking then upon it as a thing done; yet finding by the laſt ordinary, that you were but now newly entered upon the actual poſſeſſion of it, I could not forbear renewing the expreſſions that become me upon both thoſe ſubjects, and wiſhing you the honour, and his majeſty the ſervice, that you both propoſe to your-

yourſelves by this promotion. I know very well the compliments I can make you will be loſt, as they deſerve, among many others you will receive upon this occaſion; and therefore I ſhall not increaſe them, or give a long and unneceſſary interruption in the midſt of ſo much and ſo various buſineſs, as muſt have fallen upon you with this advancement; but ſhall end this trouble with the profeſſions of my being, Sir, your, &c.

To the Prince.

Hague, October 15. N. S. 1674.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

I Cannot forbear rejoicing with your highneſs upon your nearer approach to theſe countries, and wiſhing you all ſucceſs in the deſigns that have brought you where you are, and hindered your coming farther at preſent, though your highneſs's perſon may be neceſſary here as well as in other places. In my laſt, I gave your highneſs an account of what I ſaid to the ſtates at my audience, and therein the general ſcope of my preſent embaſſy, as to what concerns his majeſty's diſpoſitions, both in relation to his own peace with his countries, and to the general peace of Chriſtendom. Your highneſs will have received, before this comes to you, from his majeſty's own hands, and at length, what you could deſire more of his particular kindneſs to your highneſs's perſon and intereſts, and of his intentions upon the ſubject of the peace, both as to the preſervation of Flanders and guaranty of the peace, if it were once concluded, towards which your highneſs muſt furniſh the firſt materials.

If, upon this occaſion, your highneſs has any commands to lay upon me, I ſhould be very glad to know, whether you pleaſe to have me attend them here till

your

your return to this place, or think fit to convey them to me by monſieur Fagel, or any other perſon; or whether you will command me to wait upon you at any place or time you ſhall pleaſe to appoint: in the mean time, I pray God continue your highneſs's health and ſafety, according to the conſtant wiſhes of, Sir, your highneſs's, &c.

To my Lord Chamberlain.

My Lord, Hague, October 16, N. S. 1674.

THE laſt pacquets brought me yours of the 29th paſt, which was in all parts of it both uſeful and welcome to me, excepting only the excuſes it began with, upon the arrear you mention of ſo many letters during your illneſs and abſence from town. How unneceſſary any ſuch expreſſions were to me, you will eaſily judge by my having continued conſtantly the courſe of writing whenever I had any occaſion, which I did, and ſhall do, upon the belief you are content it ſhould be ſo, whether you write or no, till you diſcourage me in it. I was very glad to find by the ſtyle of your letter that your health was grown better, and your temper not at all worſe ſince the ill accidents that have lately fallen out; enough, indeed, to ſhake them both, if they had not been firm at bottom. The beſt wiſh I can make you is, that you may long enjoy and continue them both, eſpecially that *æquam rebus in arduis ſervare mentem*, which I take to be either the beſt poſſeſſion we bring with us into this world, or the beſt acquiſition we can make while we are in it.

I muſt acknowledge the honour his majeſty does me, and, indeed, the credit he thereby gives me with the prince, by the communication of what was the ſubſtance of his laſt letter, which, I think, was the righteſt

righteſt underſtood that could be, and cannot but produce ſome good effect; either by procuring a direct anſwer from the prince upon the main point, or, at leaſt, by introducing me in the beſt manner into the overtures and negotiation of it when I ſee the prince, which cannot be far off. In the mean time, I have immediately upon the receipt of yours written to his highneſs juſt the points you directed me in, and, in a manner, the very terms you give me; deſiring to know, whether he will have me attend his return hither, or ſend me his commands by monſieur Fagel, or any other perſon, or have me wait upon him in any place or time he ſhall pleaſe to command.

I have never heard from him ſince I gave his highneſs an account of what I ſaid to the ſtates at my audience, and therein the ſcope of his majeſty's diſpoſitions concerning the peace, with the offers of his mediation, which made me think he would be ſtanch in all that matter till the campaign ended; and, perhaps, the colder he is, the leſs he ſhould be preſſed till the courſe of things and occaſions bring him about, and diſpoſe him rather to ſolicit his majeſty's offices than decline them. This, I believe, may happen at his return hither, eſpecially if Grave ſhould be taken, which would ſtill increaſe the violent inclinations to the peace, which grow every day in theſe provinces; eſpecially in Holland, and moſt of all in the town of Amſterdam, which begins to apprehend a loſs of trade, that will hardly be recovered after any long courſe into another channel.

By what I can find from don Emanuel de Lyra, the diſpoſitions at Madrid are ſtrong towards a peace too, ſo it might leave no proſpect of a new war; and though I ſuſpect the intentions at Vienna, upon the emperor's power at home, as well as his conſideration abroad, encreaſing ſo much and ſo evidently by the war; yet knowing how abſolutely that court

muſt

muſt depend upon Spain and Holland, from whom they draw the ſubſidies that maintain their armies; I am of opinion, that not only his majeſty's mediation would be eaſily accepted by all parties, but the abſolute arbitrage of all matters in difference would be left in his hands, in caſe the confederates were but poſſeſſed with an opinion of his majeſty's being impartial in the matter; to which, I hope, his laſt diſcourſe with the marquis of Freſno, and letter to the prince, may may have a great deal contributed.

The emperor's reſident here told me two days ſince, that court was reſolved to accept his majeſty's mediation; *Mais toujours ſous l'aveu de l'Eſpagne*: and that they were upon choice of a perſon to be ſent over ſuddenly with public character into England. The Dutch miniſter writes to the ſtates, that the emperor will not accept the mediation till his majeſty's forces are recalled out of France; but the reſident here ſays, there is no ſuch condition mentioned; though he adds, modeſtly, it would be a great inducement to the emperor, and help to ſatisfy the princes of Germany with the emperor's coming to that reſolution, who took it to heart to ſee ſuch a body of Engliſh *en tous les démelés durant toute cette campagne.* Beſides, I muſt needs tell you, that the Dutch ambaſſadors have made ſuch repreſentations of the diſpoſitions and intentions of our court being ſo abſolutely in favour of France, that they are very apt here to interpret the inſtances we make towards a peace to be concerted with France; and ſome of them tell me plainly and frankly, they knew the king would not make them, if France did not deſire the peace, and find it neceſſary for their affairs. When I ſay, their ambaſſadors, I do not mean monſieur Odyke, nor what they have written ſince his being there; but I reflected upon a paſſage, which one of the ſtates told me was in a late letter from the other ambaſſadors;

which

Monſieur Odyke nous aſſeure que le Roy a de fort bonnes diſpoſitions pour nôtre Etat.

The late action near Straſburgh will prove, I believe, at laſt, to have been a drawn buſineſs, and leave each party the pretence of a victory, as, I ſee, it has done of the field: I am ſorry to hear his majeſty's ſubjects have ſuffered ſo much in it; and doubt it will make way for a greater battle ſhortly, in caſe the Brandenburgh forces come up on the imperial ſide; and both the troops of the Ban, and detachment from the prince of Condé, on the French; both which, I find, are ſuddenly expected. They begin now to apprehend Sweden's entering into the war, which muſt engage Denmark, and open a greater and longer ſcene, in all appearance, and leave his majeſty the only mediator in ſo general a quarrel.

This is too long a letter to one that is but newly recovered, and engaged in ſo many other thoughts; and yet it muſt not end without my being ever your moſt faithful and humble ſervant.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord, Hague, Oct. 16 N. S. 1674.

THE bearer hereof, Mr. Edmund Curtis, has an opinion that my recommendation may have ſome value with your lordſhip; and I have too much vanity in this point to diſabuſe him. Your lordſhip will, on the other ſide, I hope, do me ſo much juſtice, as to believe I would employ my interceſſion to no man, but leaſt of all to your lordſhip, where I were not invited to it by what I eſteemed very evidentally juſt and reaſonable, as I do, indeed, think this affair; which is a demand of ſatisfaction from the town of Newcaſtle for having ſaved their haven from being utterly ſpoiled, and by a piece of ſkill peculiar to himſelf; which was the reaſon of his majeſty's com-

manding him down thither upon that occaſion. He is a perſon who has deſerved well from his majeſty in ſeveral matters; and in whoſe juſt ſupport I muſt confeſs to have concerned myſelf, eſpecially his affairs of this nature, as having been the firſt that put him upon this invention of wreck-fiſhing, for the recovery of his majeſty's tin caſt away before Oſtend in the year 1666, which he performed with great ſucceſs; as he has done ſeveral others likewiſe ſince upon his royal highneſs's patent for fifteen years; and a contract his highneſs commanded me to make with him in 1669: and upon which, I doubt not, but he would have made greater advantages to himſelf than he demands from the town of Newcaſtle; beſides conſiderable ones to the duke this ſummer, if this purſuit had left him in purſe, and at liberty. Your lordſhip's favour and countenance to him in this affair, which I left his majeſty very much inclined to, will, I am ſure, agree with your eminent juſtice in all other caſes, and will do me a great deal of honour, in letting him ſee that you are pleaſed to own me for, my lord, your, *&c.*

To my Lord Privy Seal.

My Lord, Hague, October 16, N. S. 1674.

THE bearer hereof, Mr. Edmund Curtis, having an affair depending before the council with the town of Newcaſtle, for ſatisfaction of clearing and ſaving their harbour by a piece of ſkill peculiar to himſelf; which was the cauſe of his majeſty's ſending him thither, to that purpoſe; he has deſired me to recommend him to your lordſhip's juſt protection; and I was very glad of an occaſion of pretending thereby to be in ſome degree of your lordſhip's favour, and of ſupporting, as far as I could, a man I have known long, and a caſe I eſteem very juſt; and, at

the

the ſame time, of profeſſing myſelf, my lord, your lordſhip's moſt faithful humble ſervant.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

My Lord, Hague, October 26, N. S. 1674.

MY letters could never pretend more than your lordſhip's pardon, and have had too great a return in the honour I received of one from your lordſhip, intended me, by my ſon, who, I doubt, will be grown too proud by your lordſhip's owning him: but he is young, and may live to deſerve ſome place in your ſervice; which when you pleaſe to allow him, I ſhall own him no longer than while he acquits himſelf well. I ſhould be extremely glad to receive the ſmalleſt command from your lordſhip in that particular you pleaſe to mention, or any other; that ſo by my diligence in ſmall ones I may deſerve greater; and thereby find ſome better ways of acknowledging the favours I have received, and the troubles I have given your lordſhip, than by increaſing them.

The notices you pleaſe to command from time to time of any thing that happens extraordinary, ſhall not fail you. As to the inquiries in your laſt, concerning the diſpoſitions to a peace, and their tampering with France, I may aſſure your lordſhip, that the firſt grow very violent; and will, I believe, appear ſo more, if they come to be maſters of Grave, where they are engaged, both upon honour, and revenge of ſo many men as it has coſt them; and being the only place of theirs remaining among the French conqueſts (ſince they have, by treaty, quitted Maeſtricht to the Spaniards) whenever they recover it, they will, I believe, begin to play the mediators in the reſt of the quarrel. But that which makes the bent of the people in general ſo paſſionate for a peace, is the unmea-

ſurable burden of their taxes; and the intereſt of the trading towns, that ſay, upon all occaſions, there is none gets by this war but England; and that, if it ſhould continue a year or two longer, the general courſe of trade would run ſo far into our channel, that they ſhould be in danger never to recover it. Beſides, the rich men here are generally of the Arminian party, and jealous of the prince's greatneſs, which muſt increaſe by a war. So as all theſe humours flowing together make a current that nothing can ſtem, but the force of their engagements to their confederates; and of their intereſt in preſerving of Flanders to ſuch a degree, and in ſuch a poſture as may leave France without the deſign of another war that way; or, in caſe they attempt it, may prove a ſtrong bulwark to theſe countries, and eaſily defenſible by their aſſiſtances, without entering as principals into the war.

By this your lordſhip will eaſily conclude, that no obſtruction to the peace is like to come from hence; but from Spain, or the emperor. For Spain, their government is ſo broken by the faction of the miniſters, and minority of their king, that they find themſelves very unfit for any great action in the world; and ſo would, I am confident, be very glad of a peace; provided it might leave them out of fear of another invaſion from France; and ſo they may neither be compelled to ſo vaſt an expence, as the maintaining of great armies in time of peace, nor deſpair of defending their country whenever a war ſhould begin: and they think neither of theſe can be brought about by a peace upon the terms of Aix la Chapelle, which left Flanders neither of a ſize to keep great armies, nor of a figure to be defended by ſmall.

For theſe reaſons, though the want of ſucceſs this campaign has made them, I believe, willing to come to a peace, much under the terms of the Pyrenees; which were fixed by the confederates upon the laſt

treaty

treaty between the houſe of Auſtria and this ſtate; yet, I doubt, they will rather try another campaign, upon the hopes of what their preſent conjunction may yet produce, than end the war juſt where it begun.

For the emperor, I doubt more the diſpoſitions to a peace on his ſide, than any of the reſt; finding himſelf powerfully armed, and at others coſt, and thereby his conſideration growing greater every day in the empire, whatever it does abroad. Beſides, whatever battles may coſt, the reſources of men are ſo great in Germany, that they can never fail whilſt Spain and Holland can furinſh the money, or the ſeveral circles of the empire continue animated in the quarrel. Beſides, the emperor foreſees himſelf engaged in a war with France upon the ſucceſſion of Flanders, if the king of Spain ſhould fail without iſſue; and therefore had rather drive on the war till he can ſee Flanders ſecured, and Lorrain in ſafe hands, than leave thoſe points to be diſputed by a new war at a time, perhaps, when he may not find himſelf ſo ſtrong, either in confederates abroad, or the concurrence at home of the ſeveral princes and circles; nor ſo diſengaged from the Turk, or the troubles of Hungary at his back.

For the princes of the empire, though they ſeem a good deal ſpirited in the preſent quarrel by the late invaſions of France, and the exchange of many cruelties between the two nations in the Palatinate, and by the poſſeſſions given them of the ſafety, as well as honour of Germany, being engaged in this war; yet, I believe, after the firſt heat is over, the diſſenſions natural to bodies that have ſo many heads, the jealouſy of too great a growth of the emperor's power, and the fear of drawing the Swedes again into the war, or ſpoils of Germany, will incline them generally enough to a peace, and without ſtraining further than the treaty of Munſter; beyond which France has not

pretended any deſign, that I remember, in the courſe of the war.

For Sweden, I look upon them as engaged with France by treaty and money, both already received, and more lying ready at Hamburg, upon their entering into action, which, I believe, they will be glad to avoid, at leaſt for this year, if they can any way excuſe it to France: and this makes them ſo earneſt upon the mediation, and uſe ſo great inſtances towards agreeing a place of congreſs; which might look like the beginning of treaty, and make their offices in it paſs for ſome ſatisfaction of what they owe to France. If they engage in the war, they will, I believe, try to ſet the biſhop of Munſter again upon his legs: and, on the other ſide, the king of Denmark will join with the elector of Brandenburgh and dukes of Lunenburgh, to make head againſt Sweden in theſe weſtern parts of the empire

For theſe ſtates tampering with France, all I have found of it with certainty, I gave notice to the ſecretaries about ſix weeks ſince; which was a negotiation begun by the count d'Eſtrades, governor of Maeſtricht, and formerly in the ſervice and ambaſſage of this country. He aſſured the penſioner here, of his maſter's reſtoring not only the Grave but Maeſtricht too, provided it might not be given to the Spaniards; of returning all points of commerce to the ſtate they were in by the treaty of 1662: of advancing all that could be any intereſts and advantages of the prince upon a treaty: and of making the peace with Spain upon the terms of Aix la Chapelle. Though I ſaw a very earneſt letter upon this occaſion, in general, from the count d'Eſtrades himſelf, yet no particulars have paſſed further, than between the penſioner here, and the perſon to whom it was writ, and who was ſent to him from Maeſtricht: and the laſt anſwer I could hear of was, that, when they ſaw any thing in writing, they would

would give an anſwer to it. Upon the whole, I do not doubt of this ſtate's having very advantageous terms from France, if they would make a peace ſeparate from their allies; but I ſee not how that can be done, either with honour or ſafety, conſidering the opinion they have of our new intelligence with France, even in all our offers of mediating the peace; and which their ambaſſadors in England have long infuſed into them. On the other ſide, the diſpoſitions on all hands conſidered, I am confident, if the confederates were poſſeſſed with any belief of his majeſty's being impartial in the buſineſs, they would not only accept his mediation, but wholly remit their differences to his arbitrage.

I beg your lordſhip to believe, I do not intend you many ſuch troubles, or would have given you this, without your encouraging me: and that by opening the ſcene for once, your lordſhip might the better judge, as any actors come in, what paces they are like to make.

I beg your lordſhip's pardon, and the belief of my being, with great paſſion and truth, my lord, your lordſhip's, *&c.*

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, November 6, N. S. 1674.

I WAS extremly glad to find by your's of the 20th and 30th paſt, that his majeſty had reſolved to ſupport me in the claim I had made here of a free trade for all our ſhips, and the merchandize they carry (if not counterband) without any exception of their trading from one enemy's port to another; which cannot, I am ſure, be drawn from the words of the articles. This made me confident, even before the arrival of your letters, by a ſecond memorial to the States General to demand the reſtitution of the Rebecca;

and to tell them very plainly, that, if any doubt might ariſe upon the ſenſe of any article in treaties ſubſiſting between his majeſty and them, it could not be reſolved without his majeſty's conſent; and till that was obtained, they could not make themſelves the ſole judges or interpreters againſt the plain common ſenſe of any words, and to the prejudice of his majeſty's ſubjects. This was the point I put all the weight upon in my memorial; but having the day after received his majeſty's pleaſure, with your account of what had paſſed here in your return this way, and your arguments upon this ſubject, I demanded an hour of the penſioner, and run through a very long debate with him upon this matter. The heads of his arguments were, The judgment, he pretended, of ſeveral authors upon the point: the practice of France and Spain, and Sweden with them, and ours, in the time of his late majeſty and king James; which he undertook to give me examples of: and laſtly, that it could not be the meaning to drive an enemy's trade, but only to preſerve a friend's. I eaſily eluded this laſt by the anſwer you made it, and by my own very true proteſtations, that at my ſigning the confirmation of thoſe articles I had no ſuch ſenſe of them as he would now give them; but took the meaning of them to be juſt the ſame with the words: that free ſhips made free goods in all caſes, unleſs that of counterband. For the ſenſe of authors writing upon general themes, and for their own credit, or that of their profeſſions, I ſaid, they could not be admitted to interpret any particular treaties between princes and ſtates, who might make what agreement they pleaſed between themſelves, and very different from what authors call *jus gentium*, or general reaſon; by which, I think, they commonly mean their own: as for the practice of other kings with them, it was no rule of theirs with his majeſty; nor

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any agreement, that we ſhould not have juſtice from them, becauſe they could not obtain it from others: but on the contrary, though they had it not, yet they ever demanded it both of France and Spain; which was a certain proof that they eſteemed that juſt in their own caſe, which they will not allow to be ſo in ours: that, for the practice he offered to produce on our parts, in his late majeſty's time, I ſhould be content to ſee it, but could not tell how it could ſquare with the preſent caſe; ſince it was grounded upon articles never in force between his majeſty and this ſtate till the treaty of Breda. I added to what I ſaid in my memorial, how unjuſt their pretences were, to make a wreſted interpretation of plain words, without his majeſty's conſent: that it was not fair to do it at a time when the advantage of ſuch an article was only caſt on our ſide by the common revolutions of war and peace, which might be in their favour to-morrow, as they were in ours to-day; whereas, when the advantage was, by like accidents, caſt on their ſide, as it had been with France and Spain, they had ever inſiſted on the very ſame point that we do now, and never given over the inſtances upon it, whether they received ſatisfaction or no. After a long and warm debate, I gained this from the penſioner; that, for his own part, he was content it ſhould be as I deſired it, ſince the king underſtood it ſo, and it was to be reciprocal between us: that he could do nothing upon it in the States General till the ſtates of Holland aſſembled, which would be about a fortnight hence: that he would then propoſe it there, and endeavour their compliance with his majeſty, eſpecially if the prince, at his return, approved of it; and that in the mean time he would endeavour to have the goods in the Rebecca, or the product of them, depoſited, till the ſtates came to a reſolution in this matter; the ſhip itſelf being already free and gone, purſuant to

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a reſolution taken by the ſtate in May laſt upon this point.

I have been larger in ſtating this matter as it ſtood between me and the penſioner, that, being of ſo mighty importance to our trade at this time, his majeſty might both ſee the right he had on his ſide, and be the firmer in maintaining it: and you may pleaſe to inſtruct me in any further arguments, againſt I enter the liſts with commiſſioners here, if they ſhould prove difficult, though the penſioner be ſatisfied with it.

For the paſſes and orders to be ſent with the ſhip of advice for Surinam, he aſſures me, they ſhall be ready againſt I receive the names of ſhip and perſon; but excuſes their going with blanks, as a thing contrary to the conſtant forms of this ſtate; which, indeed, I doubted of before, and therefore took the liberty to deſire your inſtructing me thereupon as ſoon as you could.

Though the current news here be ſtill favourable to the ſtrength, or, at leaſt, good countenance of the confederate troops in Alſatia; yet I ſaw a letter yeſterday from a very good hand, which makes a different ſtory, and ſays, they had given over all thoughts of fighting monſieur Turenne; and that though the Brandenburgh and Lunenburgh troops talked of taking up their winter quarters in the Upper Alſace, while thoſe of the emperor and the other circles deſigned theirs in Suabia; yet it was believed at Straſburgh, monſieur Turenne would ſtill keep the field, and either engage the confederates, or elſe force them all to retire beyond the Rhine. All the countenance that has been made by the horſe of the confederate armies in Flanders has been, I ſuppoſe, only to keep the French a little alarmed, ſo as to ſend no more of their forces towards monſieur Turenne. The prince came to a houſe he is building in the province of Utrecht on Sunday, made a great hunting party for yeſterday, and intended to be here,

here, as ſome ſay, to-day; but as others, not till Thurſday, being the day after the bonfires intended for Grave. Yeſterday were ſent into my yard about forty pitch barrels upon this occaſion, being ſaid to be ſent by order of the States; and the like, or in proportion, to other foreign miniſters; but I ordered them to be ſent back, and told ſome of the States, that whenever I made any ſuch fire, I would do it upon his majeſty's charge, and no other's: that, in the mean time, I did not think fit to do it at all upon this occaſion, when his majeſty had offered his mediation in a quarrel lying between two of his allies; and that it would not look like the part of a mediator, to have his miniſter thus concern himſelf in ſucceſſes of either ſide. They pleaded an old form in this matter, and that it was intended to be done by thoſe the States employed, and eſpecially in the chief open places of the town. Upon which I told them, they might do it how they pleaſed, but that I ſhould no way concern myſelf in it.

I aſk your pardon for ſo long a trouble, which I ſhall end with the profeſſions of my being always, Sir, your, &c.

To the King.

Hague, Nov. 30, N. S. 1674.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

HAving ſeen the prince twice ſince his return hither, and at leiſure, I thought it became me to give your majeſty an account of what I could obſerve, as to his preſent diſpoſitions, both in general, and more particularly in what concerns your majeſty and the buſineſs of the peace. In general, I believe, he is pleaſed with the life he has led this ſummer, and loves the trade, and thinks himſelf better in health and humour, the leſs he is at reſt: ſo that, I doubt, the

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motions towards peace muſt be made from his intereſts, rather than his inclinations. For what touches your majeſty, I find all the expreſſions of duty, and ſervice, and affection, to be ſuch as you can deſire, and to have all the appearance that can be of ſincereneſs and truth. And I believe them ſo the more, by his highneſs's enlarging ſo much upon the intereſt of a near conjunction with your majeſty, and between the nations; which, he ſays, would make you both ſafe at home and abroad, and in need of no other alliances: and a great deal more of this kind.

For the buſineſs of the peace, though he complains very much of the ill performance of the Spaniards and Imperialiſts, yet I find him poſitive upon theſe points, that this ſtate can make no ſeparate peace upon any terms that France can offer them: that a general peace cannot be made without leaving Flanders in a poſture of defending itſelf from any new and ſudden invaſion of France, againſt which no guaranties could defend it: that Spain cannot quit the county of Burgundy nor Cambray upon any exchange; nor any thing in Flanders beyond the terms of the Pyrenees, unleſs it be Aire or St. Omer. That he had written to your majeſty all he yet knew of the Spaniards intentions; but if he might know upon what terms you thought a peace reaſonable, and deſired it, he would do all in his power to bring it about, as he had done in the buſineſs of the mediation, which, he told me, was now accepted at Madrid as well as Vienna. When I ſaid, your majeſty having been the author and guarand of the peace at Aix, and not having ſeen the French yet beaten out of any one town that was given them by that treaty, could with ill grace propoſe any thing to France beyond thoſe terms, or ſomething equivalent; he ſaid reſolutely, that it were better going on with the war, let it laſt as long, and coſt as much as it would; and that he believed all men of any ſenſe in

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this country were of the ſame mind. I told his highneſs, that I doubted it, and wiſhed that, upon trial, he did not find it otherwiſe. But, ſeeing him unmovable upon theſe diſcourſes, I turned them another way; and ſaid, though your majeſty would omit nothing that became a chriſtian king and a friend to his highneſs, in the good offices towards a peace, yet, if they were not underſtood to be ſo, your majeſty might perhaps content yourſelf to grow rich by the increaſe of your cuſtoms and of trade; and let them and their neighbours knock their heads together as long as they pleaſed. He ſmiled, and ſaid, he believed ſo; and for that reaſon, I talked of terms which I knew the Spaniards could not accept of; and then he fell into talk, how eaſy it was for your majeſty to bring France to ſuch a peace as you pleaſed, and how much it was your intereſt to leave Flanders ſafe; and many things upon that theme, that your majeſty hath heard enough of before from monſieur Van Buninghen. The end was, that he would expect to know your majeſty's mind upon this laſt letter, to which he could add nothing till then. And I thought your majeſty by this account, and the knowledge of your mediation being accepted now by all parties, would the better reſolve what ſtep to make next in this matter, which was the occaſion of this trouble. It is already too long, but muſt not end without the marks of that devotion wherewith I am, Sir, your majeſty's moſt loyal and moſt obedient ſubject, and moſt humble ſervant.

To my Lord Chamberlain.

My Lord, Hague, Nov. 13, N. S. 1674.

I Have given his majeſty a particular account of the beſt obſervations I could make upon my firſt audience from his highneſs, and a viſit he hath ſince made me; beſides what I writ to Mr. Secretary Williamſon

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the day of his highneſs's arrival. By all which you will judge what ſort of diſpoſitions you have to deal with in this prince; little favourable, I doubt, to the deſigns of a general peace, as little inclined to the unactive life which ſuch a ſcene muſt introduce. Beſides, he finds his authority riſe with his credit among the people here, by every ſmall ſucceſs of his arms, which is attributed perſonally to him; while the want of it in the confederate armies is laid wholly upon the conduct or qualities of the other generals. He hath a very good opinion of his own troops, and a very great one of the Germans; believes, if the count de Souches had pleaſed, the prince of Condé had been certainly beaten at Seneffe; and reckons, that by a better conſtitution of the imperial court and miniſters the confederates may hope for more honour next campaign than they had this. On the other ſide, he thinks France will find it hard to furniſh ſo many and ſo good men as Germany; and that if the confederates loſe this conjuncture to free themſelves and Flanders from any further fears that way, they are never to hope for another. Beſides, what I gather from myſelf, I hear, all that have attended his highneſs this campaign agree, that he is pleaſed with the life, both the fatigue and the dangers he meets with, which have great effects upon the ſoldiers kindneſs to him, and muſt coſt him but little, if it be true what the miniſters ſay, that he believes the point of predeſtination the firmeſt that ever any body did, and laughs at any of them that ſpeak modeſtly of it.

All theſe points look dangerous to the peace. Now thoſe that look favourable, are, the general diſpoſitions of the towns here, upon the point of trade; the jealouſy of our getting into a poſſeſſion of it too far to be retrieved; and, underhand, of the pince's growing too far into the ſole influence upon the State: the revolt of Meſſina, which, if it grows higher, and

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the contagion ſhould reach Naples, as well as other parts of Sicily (as is diſcourſed here) would make Spain glad to ſecure thoſe parts, by the expoſing of Flanders a little more than they would otherwiſe be content to do: and, laſtly, the engaging of Sweden in the party of France by open action (ſince the agreements between them are no longer, I think, a ſecret any where) which might change the ſcene in the affairs of Germany. I know not what to ſay to the talk here that runs privately (but among perſons of the ſtate) of the conſpiracy of prince Lobkowitz, and others at Vienna, having reached as far as the emperor's life; or, of the ſharp reſentments of that court againſt France upon ſuch pretences. But I look for all the difficulties that can be given the peace from thence, upon ſeveral regards which I have formerly touched, and am ſtill as apprehenſive of as before, by what I hear from all hands.

I thought it not unneceſſary to mention all theſe points, that his majeſty might have the fulleſt light towards the firſt ſteps he ſhall make in this matter, after the acceptance of his mediation from all parts, and the anſwer he hath received from the prince to his laſt letter upon this ſubject. And though perhaps his majeſty may not think fit to ſignify upon what terms he would have the peace made, as the prince hath deſired him, yet, ſince ſome ground to work upon will be expected from his majeſty, it may not be amiſs to ſay, that upon ſuch or ſuch terms his majeſty hath ſome hopes of inducing France to an agreement, and leave the draught of them with the prince of Orange, whoſe anſwer upon it will give, at leaſt, ſome entrance into this negotiation. I am ever, and very unfeignedly, my lord, your, &c.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

My Lord, Hague, December 4, N. S. 1674.

THE unkindneſs I complained of from your lordſhip, in giving me no knowledge beforehand of my lord Latimer's journey, has been by his lordſhip fully made amends for ſince: when upon his arrival he was ſo kind as to come ſtraight away to my houſe, as to his own, and uſe it ſo, as he at leaſt makes me believe; which I ſhall, I am ſure, love him for as long as I live, and ſerve him as far as I ſhall ever be able, both for your lordſhip's ſake, and for his own. I waited upon his lordſhip to the prince, who received him not only well, but kindly; and, I am ſure, will uſe him ſo while he ſtays in this country. I know the other * two lords had no need of any introduction, though they were pleaſed to deſire it, and therefore, by agreement between us, it was excuſed; and the two conferences they have had with his highneſs have been without my intervention, or any other part, than what my lord chamberlain has ſince given me. By all I yet know, there is nothing deeper in this buſineſs, than what your lordſhip was pleaſed to tell me ſo frankly and ſo kindly in the letter I had the honour of receiving by my lord Latimer; for which I return your lordſhip my very hearty acknowledgments, as I am ſure becomes me: and I may ſay very truly, that the lights you pleaſed to give me there were more than I have yet received any other way: for though I am told the main errand of the journey to be the ſame, as I received it from your lordſhip; yet I hear nothing of a letter from the prince to monſieur Odyke having given a riſe to it; and, if your lordſhip had not told me ſo, I ſhould be

* Lord Arlington and earl of Offory.

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apt to doubt it, and to believe that other circumſtances muſt have had their part in the firſt conception of this matter. I find by the prince, as well as my lord chamberlain, that what your lordſhip ſays only, you believe, is true, of their having no powers or inſtructions written, but a credential as ample and honourable as can be. And upon the firſt part that was given us hither of this intended journey, I remember the prince told me, what your lordſhip ſays with more ground, that he was ſure monſieur Ruvigni had his part in it. For what your lordſhip ſays of theſe two lords acquaintances and intereſts ſo great with the prince having occaſioned the choice of their perſons, all I know is, that if they doubted it, they did well to try; becauſe friends that have been long aſunder, know not how they are together till they meet, eſpecially if they parted laſt no better than I know ſome of theſe did.

Upon the whole, I am of opinion, that this buſineſs will produce no effect at all, proportioned to the noiſe it has made both in Englaad and here, and that it may not go much farther than expoſtulations and compliments on both ſides; and, perhaps, if it were upon any great buſineſs, the leſs of both might not be the worſe. When I ſaid compliments, I intended not ſuch expreſſions of kindneſs as are not meant, but ſuch as are more or greater than there is need of; and if what paſſes of this kind have no farther end than I know of, I cannot tell whether there has been any great occaſion for them, ſince the prince cannot ſay much more, than he has done to me ever ſince our meeting, of his affection and ſervice to his majeſty. And, on the other ſide, I take him to be an unmoveable perſon in all points of what he eſteems his own honour and intereſt, and not to be talked into or out of any points, where he eſteems either of them much concerned.

This is all I can yet ſay upon this occaſion, and may be too much to have troubled your lordſhip with, had not you given me the encouragement. If I meet with any thing more important to your lordſhip's knowledge, I ſhall make uſe of the way you preſent me by a ſervant of my lord Latimer's, and ſhould have been glad your lordſhip had ſent me a cypher over, which might have been neceſſary upon ſome occaſions. My wife is your lordſhip's moſt humble ſervant, and acknowledges the honour of your remembrance; we are both ſo to my lady. My ſon will, I doubt, take notice of us no longer, having the honour of being abſolutely retained in my lord Latimer's ſervice ſince his arrival here.

I will add no more to your lordſhip's preſent trouble, beſides the aſſurance, that the confidence your lordſhip is pleaſed to uſe me with ſhall never be forgotten, nor undeſerved, as far as lies in the reach of ſo much ſincereneſs and paſſion, as that wherewith I have always profeſſed myſelf, my lord, your, &c.

To the King.

Hague, Dec. 4, N. S. 1674.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

I Received ſo great an honour by a letter which my lord chamberlain brought me from your majeſty, that I am ſure I ſhall never forget it, whether I live to deſerve it or no. Though his lordſhip might juſtly have pretended to my ſervices here, from the friendſhip between us, yet, I hope, your majeſty believes your commands are ſo ſacred to me, as to need no help from my inclinations to make them obeyed; and therefore I ſhall only ſay, that if his lordſhip fails of any aſſiſtances or ſervices that I can give him here, it ſhall be his own fault; ſince I reſolve to go on as I have

have begun, in desiring from him the knowledge in what manner, and to what degree, he would use them. I esteem this journey of so great persons, and so much my friends, the best fortune and most honour that could have befallen me in this place; and hope the success of it will be whatever your majesty proposed to yourself by it; and beg your majesty to believe, that so your business be well done, and your majesty grow as great and as happy as I wish you, I shall have nothing left to ask for myself, by whose services soever that be atchieved.

The two conferences my lord chamberlain hath had with the prince have passed, by concert between his lordship and me, without any intervention, or having had other part in them than what his lordship has since given me. All the light I have offered to give to a person that knows his way so well, hath been only my opinion not to go too far in expostulations; for, besides what I know of the prince's nature in that point, I have observed them apt to end well between lovers, but ill between friends.

The knowledge of all worth your majesty's trouble from hence will, I know, be transmitted from my lord chamberlain, and leave me no other part than that of my humble acknowledgments upon the confidence your majesty has been pleased to express of me in so great occasions, and the plain offers of that very sincere devotion wherewith I am, and shall ever be, your majesty's most loyal subject and most obedient humble servant.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR, Hague, December 21, N. S. 1674.

UPON a long conference yesterday with the deputies of the States, I agreed, in the first place, upon the instrument for continuing the marine treaty of 1668, until the expiring of the time appointed for the ex-

change of the ratifications of the laſt treaty concluded at London, wherein I have purſued his majeſty's commands, tranſmitted to me in your laſt, without reaſoning at all upon them.

The inſtrument will, I hope, be ſigned before the cloſure of this diſpatch, and the publication of it made immediately here, as the notice of it is already ſent to the admiralties of the ſeveral provinces. After our agreement upon this matter, we fell upon the ſeveral heads tranſmitted to me from the commiſſioners of plantations upon the affair of Surinam. I obtained, in the firſt place, that new orders ſhall be ſent to the governor there by the perſon to go along with the Advice yacht, and containing the very words tranſmitted to me in the laſt paper, with the addition only, of uſing no threats to ſuch as deſire to ſtay; which I find my lord chamberlain, as well as I, underſtands to be agreeable to his majeſty's intentions.

In the next place, I gained the conſent of all the deputies, excepting him of Zealand, that his majeſty ſhould ſend a man of war to convoy the three fly-boats, and lie out in the river till they were ready to return. And though the deputy of Zealand would not abſolutely conſent without the communication of the other deputies of his province, yet he gave me reaſon to be confident the thing would be yielded to, though it paſſed with very much conteſt; not upon any jealouſy, as they pretended, of his majeſty's good and fair intentions, but of ſuch perſons as might be employed in the execution of them; and thereupon would have entered into greater complaints of major Banniſter than he made of them, but that I cut them off as no part of my buſineſs.

After this, we fell upon the heads of the orders deſired for the commiſſioners his majeſty intended to ſend. Upon the ſecond article they inſiſted, to have our riding in their rivers and creeks, and moving from

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place to place, to be with conſent of their governor. But I found this expedient to have it only with his communication, which words are added to it upon the third article; the deputy of Zealand affirming, that it ſometimes happened, that there was ſo great a ſcarcity of ſome ſorts of proviſions, that they had not enough for the uſe of the colony; we added theſe words, that they might buy them at the uſual rates, *en telle quantité que cela n'incommoderoit pas la colonie.* Upon the twelfth article we agreed, that it ſhould be reciprocal on our ſide as well as theirs. All the reſt we agreed in our own words, except the ſixth, ſeventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth, which run all upon the ſame foot: nor could I obtain them after all our debates; but, on the other ſide, the penſioner Fagel was peremptory, and poſitive in it, that they could not poſſibly be agreed to; and that, not only becauſe there was no ground for them in the article of our laſt treaty, but becauſe, he ſaid, the States themſelves, or at leaſt thoſe which are called ſo here, as repreſenting the States, have not the power to do it, or to alter the courſe of judicature amongſt any of their ſubjects; as for example, not to order men to be tried in any caſes of contract or debt before any others beſides the uſual and conſtituted judicature of the place; not to force any man to accept of another creditor than him to whom he had lent his money; not to force any man to accept of land or houſes in payment of money he had lent; and ſo the other matters relating to the reſt of thoſe fore-mentioned articles. And theſe points they argue to be not only out of the power of the States, but contrary to the known conſtitutions of the civil law, from many common places not neceſſary to repeat. All they offer upon theſe points is only, in the firſt place, to order the accompliſhment in full of the words of the article in the laſt treaty, whereby it was agreed, his majeſty's ſubjects there ſhould be

tied to no other rules and laws, in points of buying, selling, or commutation of goods, than what were practised among all the other inhabitants of that colony; but should in all points of civil-justice have the same privileges with the rest. In the next place, they offered to give order to certain commissioners of their own to assist any of his majesty's, with the utmost of their power, towards the disposing any parties concerned in any such debts, to adjust them, either by exchange of the said debts for others, or by taking satisfaction from them in lands or goods, so they might be agreed by the consent of the parties concerned. But if that could not be done, they could not force their subjects, nor deny them the right of having recourse to the justice of the place for the final determination of all such matters; and in this they were unmoveable, as a thing out of their power. And, on the other side, I told them, what they offered was not at all what I could accept of; so that I had nothing to do but to represent it to his majesty, and pursue the orders I should thereupon receive. In the mean time, I am assured that the orders necessary to the Advice yacht shall be in my hands before the closing of this pacquet. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To the King.

Hague, January 22, N.S. 1675.

May it please your Majesty,

SINCE my last, I heard of a long letter come hither from the count d'Estrades to the late pensioner of Maestricht, by whose intervention the said count at first began, and hath since managed a secret correspondence here with the pensioner Fagel, and, by his conveyance, with the prince. I gave your majesty some former notices of it by your secretaries, and I find, that since that time it has run coldly, and most upon

upon a treaty of commerce, and a cartel of priſoners. But, hearing this laſt letter run into things more general, I fell into the diſcourſe of it with the penſioner Fagel yeſterday, and, at laſt, engaged him to ſend me a copy of the letter, which he confeſſed to have by him, but that the prince had the original. I cauſed it to be tranſcribed immediately, and ſend it your majeſty incloſed. Upon the whole, I find the penſioner fixed, that this ſtate muſt venture all, rather than quit their allies; but, for what concerns themſelves, not only deſirous, but impatient for a peace. For the match propoſed in the count's letter, I find him little inclined to it, but very much to that of England. Upon this talk I aſked him, whether he had not heard of another between the king of Spain and Mademoiſelle? He confeſſed he had, and ſeemed to wonder at this in the letter, becauſe he thought the advice of the other came the ſame way, though not directly. I aſked him, what he thought of the match with Spain? and when he ſaid a great deal of wiſhing and applauding it, upon the condition of France's endowing her with the conqueſts of Flanders, I told him, he had reaſon, and that the State might very well give a queen's portion to have the match and the peace made upon theſe terms. He confeſſed it, and ſaid at laſt, *Je me fais fort de faire donner deux cent mille Jacobus à cette condition*; and when I ſaid, they might very well undertake for Spain's giving as much more, we ended this converſation.

I thought it became me to give your majeſty knowledge of what paſſed, and only to ſay upon it, that, in my weak opinion, this were an adventure worthy your majeſty's atchievement; by which alone, in all preſent appearance, the peace of Chriſtendom may be reſtored; by which France may come out of the war with honour, and Spain with ſafety; by which your majeſty leaves a niece with one of the greateſt crowns

of Chriſtendom on her head; by which you may draw a mighty treaſure into your purſe; and by which, after the applauſes of all the world abroad, and all your ſubjects at home, upon a peace whereby Flanders is ſecured, your majeſty will have glory and eaſe together attend all the reſt of your life. And ſo I leave it to your majeſty's thoughts, and beg your juſtice in believing me your majeſty's, &c.

I beg of your majeſty the inclоſed copy may be ſecret, whether it be uſeful, or no.

To the King.

Hague, Jan. 29, N. S. 1675.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

UPON the diſcourſes with the penſioner, of which I gave your majeſty an account in my laſt, the prince took occaſion to enter with me upon the ſame ſubject, juſt upon his leaving the town. He ſpoke of it with great hopes that your majeſty would fall in with ſuch a project of the peace; with confidence, that you might moſt certainly and eaſily effect it, if you pleaſed; and with deſpair of ſeeing it brought about any other way. Upon my mention of money in general, he ſaid, that ſhould not fail; and upon my raiſing difficulties of France quitting ſo many conquered places, though upon conſideration of ſuch a match, he ſaid, if all would not be conſented to, he believed it might be done upon thoſe that were moſt neceſſary to the ſecurity of Flanders. That he knew ſo much of the condition of France, as to believe they would be glad of a peace, if they could have it with honour, which this would give them; and that, however, he was ſure they would not refuſe it your majeſty, if they ſaw you deſired it. He ſpoke of it as a

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thing that would give him aſſurance of your majeſty's impartialneſs in the general affair, of your good meaning to his highneſs, and the ſafety of theſe countries, and of that which would make way for the firmeſt and cloſeſt meaſures between you for ever after. He deſired me to write of it perſonally to your majeſty, and to give him immediately an account of what anſwer I received; which makes me give your majeſty more trouble than I ſhould have preſumed to do upon any other occaſion; and take notice of it to no other hand, till I receive your majeſty's command upon it, what I ſhall ſay to the prince. I confeſs, I took it for a ſcheme of great honour, happineſs, and eaſe to your majeſty; and if you ſhould effect it, and after a general peace fall into thoſe cloſe meaſures with the prince and this State, which my lord chamberlain ſo much diſcourſed of here, I ſhould not deſpair of ſeeing them brought to give your majeſty, upon a defenſive league, a clauſe of guaranty upon all quarrels you might have by your right to the flag; which would be certainly the way to give your majeſty an undiſputed poſſeſſion of what hath been hitherto a diſputed claim, and thereby leave to your majeſty's crown and reign the greateſt glory that hath arrived to any of your anceſtors.

I had troubled your majeſty with this by laſt poſt, but that hearing ſomething more had paſſed in the Maeſtricht correſpondence, I reſolved firſt to ſpeak with the penſioner Fagel, which I could not do till Sunday. He told me, there was another letter come from the count, and all the arguments that could be uſed to draw this ſtate off from the meaſures with the houſe of Auſtria, and into the old ones with France; and that, beſides all other advantages of trade, it was propoſed to give them a port in the Mediterranean upon the coaſt of Italy. But upon the whole he ſaid, they could not leave their allies; diſcourſed much of the

forces

forces they ſhould have next campaign, of the little appearance to make a peace, at preſent any other way, than by the project mentioned; and concluded, that if all ſucceſs failed, ſo as their allies ſhould break into ſeparate treaties, he doubted not but they could take better meaſures with France than any of the reſt.

I humbly beg your majeſty's pardon for theſe troubles, and your acceptance of that devotion and truth, wherewith I am, and ſhall ever be, Sir, your majeſty's moſt loyal and moſt obedient ſubject and ſervant.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, February 22, N. S. 1675.

SINCE my laſt, I have received yours of the 5th, which brought me a copy of the moſt chriſtian king's anſwer to his majeſty, upon the propoſal of Meurs for the place of congreſs, and his majeſty's commands how to proceed farther with the States in this matter. The beſt account I can give you of my obeying them will be by the incloſed memorial, which being the firſt I have put in to the States upon the ſubject of his majeſty's mediation, I thought might be fit to trouble you with; that ſo I might know, whether, being left ſo much at large in this commiſſion, the conceptions I have upon it agree as they ought to do with thoſe of his majeſty, both as to the main ſcope and as to the manner and circumſtances of proceeding in it. One of the great ones, and moſt to be conſidered, I take to be that of perſuading the confederates, that his majeſty is as impartial, as a mediator ought to be, in the conduct of this affair; and therefore you will find this deſign run through the whole contexture of this memorial: the reſt is, I hope, juſt what his majeſty commanded me to purſue upon the point of Nimeguen, and the inſtances as ſtrong as I could make them; and may not poſſibly

poſſibly be leſs ſucceſsful for the penſioner's abſence, if the States think fit to come to a reſolution upon it without his communication, which I may yet know before the cloſure of this letter; in the mean time, I ſhall give you the ſtate, as well as I can, of the Swediſh mediation, in anſwer to the latter part of your letter, and your commands of doing all by concert or communication with him.

Hitherto he has always brought or ſent me copies of all the memorials he has put in upon the ſubject of his maſter's mediation, within a day or two after he delivered them; but without any communication before of what they imported, though they have been many, ſince he knew and complimented me upon his majeſty's mediation being accepted by all parties. I have obſerved the ſame courſe with him, and ſtill give him part of what paſſed at the conferences between me and the States deputies upon the ſame ſubject; and we live in all points the beſt and the friendlieſt that can be together. But upon the whole matter, I take his majeſty's mediation, and that of the crown of Sweden, to be different ſo eſſentially, as well as in circumſtances, that I know not how they can be ſo abſolutely joined as you ſeem to intimate; nor whether it ought to be endeavoured farther than maintaining the beſt correſpondence that can be with them, and making, as near as we can, the ſame pace, though ſeparately, in the courſe of this affair.

For the firſt; you know when the Swedes mediation began, we, and France, and theſe States were all the parties in the quarrel; that during the mediation at Cologn, by an alliance with Spain, the houſe of Auſtria came with other princes to be principals in it; that after this incident, though the Swediſh mediation continued, yet it reached no farther in the negotiations of their ambaſſadors than the firſt parties; and though it was endeavoured (whether it failed upon punctilioes,

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or more important ſpeculations) it is certain, that neither the emperor, nor the court of Spain have ever yet been induced to accept of that mediation. So that neither they on one ſide, being refuſed by ſome parties, nor the pope, who will be refuſed by others, can pretend to make the ſame figure in this buſineſs as his majeſty does, who is accepted by all.

In the next place; though monſieur Ehernſteyn has, ſince his arrival here, very induſtriouſly kept up the part of a mediator, by very frequent and voluminous memorials, which he has lately printed altogether, yet they have been conſidered by the States little farther, than either as general diſcourſes, or declamations upon the theme of peace; or elſe diligences affected purpoſely to preſerve the figure of mediation in that crown with this ſtate, while they were at firſt preparing, and ſince engaged in open hoſtility with the elector of Brandenburgh, one of their allies; for whoſe defence they knew this ſtate was by treaty obliged to employ all their forces, and come to an open rupture with the invader.

Ever ſince I came hither, I have been frequently entertained by thoſe of the States, and particularly by the penſioner, with very ſharp complaints of the Swedes towards them, and their open and avowed partiality to France in the whole courſe of the mediation. But more of the *deſhonnêteté*, as they term it, to continue the offers and paces of mediator, after the treaties formerly concluded with France, their money ſo openly received, and their hoſtile march into the duke of Brandenburgh's country. But after the news of this laſt adventure, the penſioner, at the head of the States deputies, in the next conference upon their deſires, upon his majeſty's propoſing Meurs, told me, the States had at firſt ordered the ſame deſire to be made to the Swediſh ambaſſador, but had ſince re-

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ſolved that ſhould be omitted, becauſe they could not conſider that crown any longer as mediator, after their being engaged actually in a war with one of their principal allies, and upon meaſures formerly taken with their enemies.

You know ſince, how this motion of the Swediſh army has been a blind ſort of buſineſs on both ſides; they, on the one ſide, apprehending the reſolute profeſſions of this ſtate to declare open war by ſea and land; and not only to engage their confederates, but endeavour it with the Muſcovite too, in caſe they did not retire their forces out of the Brandenburgh country, have ſeemed of late very irreſolute how to go on, or come off from the adventure; and by a middle courſe of only quartering in his country, but attacking none of his towns, and paying ſometimes for what they take, that they might not be ſaid to live wholly at diſcretion, as in an enemy's country; they have ſeemed to deſign the giving juſt ſo much ſatisfaction to France, as might preſerve their treaties with that crown; and ſo little offence to the confederates, as might keep off a general breach with the emperor, as well as Spain and this ſtate, and perhaps moſt of the princes of the empire too, in conjuction with Denmark.

On the other ſide, this ſtate, though they have, from the firſt march of the Swediſh troops, declared poſitively to the ambaſſador here, that they would open the war, unleſs his maſter recalled his forces out of the Brandenburgh territories; yet they have delayed it all this while, upon pretence of that reſolution's running the circle of all the provinces with ſome more than uſual delay; but in truth, that before they begin an action of ſuch conſequence, they may be firſt aſſured of their confederates intentions, take their meaſures with them for beginning, as well as carrying on the war, and in the mean time give Sweden leave to avoid it by recalling their forces. As this matter has

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played upon theſe circumſtances and diſpoſitions, ſo you will eaſily imagine the buſineſs of their mediation has ſometimes appeared alive, and ſometimes dead; and whether it be one or the other, for my part, I cannot tell. For, notwithſtanding what the penſioner told me, as I before mentioned, and what I hear was replied at a conference with the deputies to the Swediſh ambaſſadors upon that occaſion, yet, I find, he ſtill continues his memorials in the ſame ſtyle, and will, I know, make all the paces imaginable to preſerve this figure of mediation as long as can be done.

Now, whether this continue or no, which yet I will formally aſk the penſioner at his return, as you deſire; yet I doubt, for my part, whether it will not weaken the force of his majeſty's mediation (which will chiefly conſiſt in the opinion of its being impartial) to join it openly and formally with that of Sweden; which, whether the war go on or no, will ever be interpreted not only partial to France, but even to be managed by the very motions they ſhall receive from thence. I am ever, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Hague, Feb. 26, N. S. 1675.

I WAS extreme ſorry to find by your laſt of the 9th, that your illneſs was returned, after I had flattered myſelf of its having left you, from what your former told me. God ſend your next may bring me better news of it, which will be welcomer to no body than me. I am very glad to find his majeſty has that propoſition ſtill in his thought and endeavour, and hope he will purſue it till it falls one way or other; for, in all buſineſs of public or private concernment, I have always thought the beſt rule is, as in hunting, one thing at a time, and ſee the end of it before another begins. I am very proud to find his majeſty's opinion,

as well as yours, agree with what I had at the firſt upon this buſineſs of Gelderland; it is now over, but the ſmart of it will not wear off without further time; and bending the ſtick a contrary way muſt make it right. I think his majeſty, for his own ſake as well as the prince's, has reaſon to be of the mind he is in this matter, for all offers of that kind loſe us as many friends in this country as they gain to France; and it was a common voice of Amſterdam, that they had better be under the ſubjection of that crown, than of an abſolute ſovereignty at home. In thoſe few days the noiſe laſted, there was above three hundred thouſand pounds drawn out of the bank of Amſterdam; the Eaſt India actions fell above thirty, and thoſe upon the cantores of Holland fell from a hundred to ſeventy-five, which was five lower than at the moſt deſperate criſis of the laſt war; which are effects that might amaze ſuch as do not either underſtand or conſider, how much trade, and indeed all government, depends upon opinion.

The prince has, in his letters to the province of Utrecht, thanked them for their kindneſs expreſſed to him in their advice, and fallen very ſharp upon thoſe in other provinces, who could ground ſuch ſuſpicions as they had upon that occaſion; which makes me fear, he does not yet know enough of the temper of his patient, nor how little any ſort of rough phyſic agrees with it. And let me tell you, between us, that among ſome younger or warmer heads, they ſay, our friend has been the chief conſulter of this affair, which, for my part, I think, agrees very well with what others ſay, of his being at heart as much a republican as monſieur de Witt: for, I am ſure, nothing could have given ſo great a check to any deſigns of dominion here, as this has done. Whereas, by a courſe of very popular counſels, with ſome ſucceſſes in the war, the States themſelves, in ſome little time, might have been

been the inſtruments of increaſing the prince's authority; or the people might have forced them to it, by their truſt and kindneſs to the prince, and thereby preferring his government before their own.

I cannot tell you any thing yet, what is like to be done about his majeſty's propoſition of Nimeguen for the place of congreſs, the States having ſent it to the prince, as I had done at the ſame time I put in my memorial to them. I have preſſed it both with his highneſs and here, as the only way of meeting; but after all, I am apt to think the campaign will begin before the treaty, and the events of one will be governed by thoſe of the other. I believe the method of the next action will be, to have the emperor's army act either by itſelf, or in conjunction only with that of the circles, and for the Brandenburgh and Lunenburgh troops to fall in as auxiliaries only to the prince of Orange, who ſhall command alone, and, upon occaſion of a ſiege or a battle, receive other auxiliary troops likewiſe from the duke de Villa Hermoſa, who will live in the beſt intelligence, and, I believe, with very great deference to his highneſs in the councils and actions of the campaign.

I write you particular things, which go no other way, but ſuch as I imagine his majeſty, as well as you, may be content to know. I am ever, &c.

To my Lord Chamberlain.

My Lord, Hague, March 22, N. S. 1675.

I Have newly received your's of the 8th current, and rejoice with you upon your journey to Huſton, where I wiſh you the health and ſatisfaction you propoſe to yourſelf, and which is neceſſary both to the ſervice of our maſter, and to the contentment of your friends. What you wonder ſo much at, both as to the prince's ſaying, you had given him no anſwer to what

what he propoſed to you about the peace; and as to my ſuffering him to ſay it, I muſt tell you, that I very well remember what you writ to me about monſieur Ruvigni's ſcheme of that matter; and I told it the prince, whether you writ to him, or no. But his highneſs never took that for any anſwer to what he had advanced to you at your being here; which, he ſays, was not to France, nor to know their mind upon it, but his majeſty's. Therefore the anſwer the prince expected upon it was, to know whether his majeſty thought that propoſal, or ſomething near it, a reaſonable ground for ſuch a peace as his majeſty judged ſafe and laſting: and, whether his majeſty would thereupon endeavour it with France, while his highneſs did the ſame with the confederates. If his majeſty ſhould be of this mind, then the prince expected, he would propoſe it to France, and ſignify their anſwer upon it: if that ſhould be juſt what monſieur Ruvigni ſticks at, and no appearance of growing leſs, I ſuppoſe, in plain terms, the treaty ends before it begins, and is not to begin again till the campaign ends. This, at leaſt, is my opinion; and that, whatever the ſucceſs of the one ſide, and diſaſters of the other, have been the laſt year, yet the confederates will rather throw away the ſheath, and buckle again to the war, than take a peace upon ſuch terms, before they are abſolutely beaten into it.

I have, upon Mr. Secretary Williamſon's order, at two conferences, deſired of the States to propoſe a plan to his majeſty, upon which, or near it, they think their allies will conſent to the peace. By next poſt, you will ſee it from them in writing; in the mean time, I may tell you, it will be much ſuch another on the one ſide, as monſieur Ruvigni's is on the other; and ſo muſt all be that comes this open way from the States. Nor ſhould I have deſired it, but by Mr. Secretary's orders, or expected an iſſue from

any thing here in this kind, but what firſt is privately concerted between his majeſty and the prince.

What the States will do, as to interpoſing for prince William of Furſtenburgh, I know not; but I hear it talked among the foreign miniſters, that the emperor will not part with him, unleſs a peace be made; and, in that caſe, he will oblige himſelf to give him his liberty, and pardon him. I have very good reaſon to believe the Swediſh ambaſſadors, both at Paris and here, make it their buſineſs to hinder the congreſs at Nimeguen, by throwing in this incident, as well as otherways, and ſtomach his majeſty's being left the ſole mediator, by their being ſo formally rejected, as well as having obtained this point from the States, after their having failed of Breda ſo long contended for. However, monſieur Ehernſtein and I live the beſt that can be together; which I do, not only by his majeſty's command, but by my own diſpoſition too, having viſited him four or five times, and communicated all that has paſſed in his majeſty's mediation ſince he has ſtirred out of his chamber, where he has lain ſick, either of the gout, or of trouble, ſince he is grown, as he calls it, *tout à fait inutile*: and, I think, indeed, I never ſaw a more dejected man than he has been upon this occaſion.

For my own part, I think you have ended your Indian treaty the beſt you could: and you know very well I ever told you, the ſtate here would break, rather than come up to what our merchants (or the contrivers of ſome unkindneſs between the nations) reſolved at firſt to aſk, and have ſince ſtood upon juſt as you ſay, either to have all they aſked, or nothing. Nor do I believe there will be much uſe of the commiſſioners to decide the quarrels of the companies, when other quarrels are not intended on one ſide or the other. I am ever, &c.

To the King.

Hague, March 22, N. S. 1675.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

I Have this day received the honour of a letter from your majeſty of the 5th, for which I return my humble acknowledgments, and eſteem it much the greater for having been written upon a ſubject, which I knew your majeſty would not treat otherwiſe than in confidence; being, indeed, a very tender point, and which touches the ſtrings; upon the good or ill tuning whereof very much of your majeſty's greateſt concerns at this time depends. I will confeſs that I was extremely ſurprized to read what your majeſty ſays has been whiſpered to you, concerning an intended journey of the prince this ſpring into England; and I ſhould be extremely aſhamed to be found ignorant here of a matter of ſuch conſequence, that were known ſo far off. I have very little belief of infallibility, and leſs of no man's than my own; but I am as confident as I can be of having any of my five ſenſes about me, that the prince has never had yet one thought of ſuch a journey this ſeaſon, unleſs it had happened that the peace had been abſolutely made, which he has not lately had much reaſon to hope for; and for the preſent, I believe, he thinks no more of a journey to London, than to Venice; nor indeed of any thing, but how to get out of this war with a little honour and ſafety; towards which, I am confident, he reckons upon pleaſing your majeſty as a much better and nearer way, than diſobliging you in any kind.

This is my opinion, and I have not yet been out in any of my calculations here. But becauſe I cannot reckon any thing to be neglected, that deſerves your majeſty's thoughts, I will, at my firſt ſeeing the prince upon his return (which is expected after to-

morrow) let him know, that I hear ſuch a thing has been whiſpered to your majeſty, and how I conceive it muſt be underſtood: and will, upon this occaſion, talk it to the bottom, if I find it needs, either from what I meet in his diſcourſe upon it, or can obſerve from his countenance. But if I find it wholly as I expect, without any manner of ground, I ſhall, with your majeſty's leave, neither ſhew him your letter, nor ſpeak of it as a thing your majeſty believed, or reflected upon. And of all this I hope to give your majeſty an account by the next.

I can eaſily imagine what errand the whiſperers of this ſtory muſt have pretended, to give ſuch a journey of the prince about the time of the parliament's ſitting: and I will not anſwer for monſieur Van Beuninghen's buſy talk at ſuch a ſeaſon; though he may have as little thanks for it here, as for all he has lately entered into of his own head with monſieur Ruvigni. But I ſhould be very ſorry to ſerve your majeſty in this figure, upon a ſcene where any motions ſhould ariſe towards the diſcompoſing your majeſty's affairs, either at home or abroad, or thoſe meaſures you ſhall think fit to hold in a point ſo material to the happineſs of your reign. And, on the contrary, I am pretty confident, that I could prevail both with the prince and the ſtate here, as to all that concerns themſelves, to refer the buſineſs of the peace wholly to your majeſty, not as a mediator only, but as abſolute arbiter, and without thinking of any other recourſe, but to your majeſty's perſonal diſpoſitions, and judgment of what you eſteem ſafe for them and their neighbours. And, if the point of honor, and thereby, indeed, of intereſt, were not in it, not to abandon their allies, to whom they owe their own preſervation, and are tied by ſo many treaties; I doubt not but I ſhould be able to ſend your majeſty ſuch a ſcheme from hence before I am a week older.

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If my opinions are right, and your majeſty be ſo ſafe and ſo eaſy here, as I believe; it will then be poſſibly worth your majeſty's obſerving from what quiver this arrow came, and whether there be no poiſon in it, that you may know the hand another time. If I am miſtaken, and there was reaſon for ſuch a ſuſpicion, your majeſty, I am ſure, has a very ignorant ambaſſador here, and who has loſt the talent of ſerving you with the ſucceſs as formerly attended him; though, I am ſure, he has loſt none of that hearty zeal where-with he has been, and ſhall be ever, Sir, your majeſty's moſt faithful, &c.

To the King.

Hague, March 25, N. S. 1675.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

IN purſuance of what I writ laſt poſt, I waited on the prince yeſterday at his return, and took occaſion to tell him what I heard had been whiſpered to your majeſty about his intended journey this ſpring into England, without taking notice of having heard any thing of it from your majeſty. The prince told me he knew very well what muſt be the meaning of ſuch a report: that he was very ſorry to ſee ſome perſons about you reſolved to do him all ill offices to your majeſty, and indeavour to make things ill between you, let his carriage be what it will: that, for his part, he would never deſerve it, but he knew not how to help people's talk: they might ſay if they would, that a cow could catch a hare; but he did not know why any body ſhould believe it. I interrupted him, and ſaid he might be confident your majeſty would be the laſt to believe any thing of his highneſs's ill intentions towards you in any kind: and that, I was ſure, you believed nothing of this, whatever had been told you: that he knew very well, how glad your majeſty would

be at all times to ſee him; but that it might be at ſome times inconvenient to you both, and therefore your majeſty was confident, that whenever he had any thoughts of it, the firſt thing he would do, would be to acquaint you with it, and know your opinion and your pleaſure upon it. The prince replied, that he would be ſure to do ſo whenever there was occaſion, but hitherto there had been none: that, it was true, when my lord Arlington was here, they talked ſometimes of his going into England this ſpring, in caſe the peace were made; or that if it were ſo far advanced, as to let him ſee it would be done, he ſhould have been content to go and conclude it in England: but this was only talked at their being here, and that my lord Arlington had firſt begun it, and put him upon theſe thoughts: that, ſince that time, he had never thought more of it: and that I can tell very well, as affairs went, if he had the greateſt mind in the world to go, he could not; and that, if he could, he was ſure he ſhould never think of it without firſt aſking your majeſty's leave, and knowing that you liked it. With that he ſaid in ſome heat, 'Would to God none about 'the king had worſe intentions to his ſervice than I 'have: but if he will not believe me, what can I do? 'I would be very glad to ſee the king, and have but 'too much reaſon to deſire it; but I have ſomething 'elſe to do at this time than to think of ſuch journeys.'

I tell your majeſty, as juſt as I can, his own words; by which you will beſt judge of his meaning: and upon this I told his highneſs, I was very glad I was not miſtaken in him; for, upon hearing what had been told your majeſty upon this ſubject, I had written to you the laſt poſt; and thereupon repeated ſome of the aſſurances I had given you, both of his never having had any ſuch thing in deſign, and of his duty and intentions towards your majeſty being in all points what became him. The prince told me, he

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was very much beholden to me for it; and ſwore he would always make my words good, and that he would never deceive you.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

I had written thus far in the morning, and thought I had very little to add; but, about one o'clock afternoon, the prince came to me, and ſent for me out of my cloſet, where I was locked up. When I came to him, he made me excuſes, at firſt, in good humour enough; but, ſuddenly changing countenance, he told me, he had received a letter from my lord Arlington that he could not but come and ſhew me; for he knew not, for his part, what to ſay to it, nor what he meant by it: thereupon he read it all to me; and, upon that part which concerned his journey into England, he ſaid, 'his lordſhip knew well enough how far that was 'ever thought of, for he was the firſt that put me upon 'it.' Then he went on, and read a long period in cypher, that began about Du Moulin's being ſtill about him, and fomenting the deſigns of engaging the parliament this next ſitting in the affairs of France; telling him thereupon, his highneſs knew beſt, whether ſuch friendſhips were to be relied on that were made *à coups de bâtons*: and that he knew very well, there were diſcontents here, as well as in other places, and that *ſi on les touchoit, on les pourroit faire ſaigner encore*. I repeat the words as near as I can remember, becauſe I know not whether this was written or no by your majeſty's communication or command: and the prince reading it with ſome ſtammering upon the interlining of the cypher, and yet with a good deal of emotion, I will not anſwer for every word; but I am ſure I am right in the groſs, upon reading the laſt words, *ou les pourroit faire ſaigner*. The prince ſaid, he underſtood this very well; for it was the ſame with what my lord Arlington told monſieur Reed in England;

land; that if the king would go about it, he could make him be ſerved as monſieur de Witt was: then he ſwore in a rage, that he could not bear this language from my lord Arlington, nor live any longer with him as he had done: that, under profeſſion of friendſhip, and of dealing plainly with him, he ſaw very well, that he did him all the miſchief he could; and that he could bear it no longer. When I told the prince, that what my lord Arlington writ was upon what others had ſaid, and endeavoured to make your majeſty believe; he ſaid, No, he believed it was my lord Arlington himſelf; and that he had made his brother Odyke hinder Du Moulin's going to Surinam, on purpoſe that he might ſtill have that pretext of doing him ill offices to your majeſty: that, however, if he had been ſuch a friend as he pretended, whenever any body elſe offered at doing him ſuch ill offices to your majeſty, my lord Arlington, that knew his intentions ſo well, ſhould have given them the lie, and have anſwered to your majeſty for him, and not gone away himſelf with the belief of them, or writ him ſuch impertinent language upon no manner of grounds: then he wiſhed he might die on the place, if he, or any man he knew here, had the leaſt thoughts of making any intrigues with the parliament, or offering at any ſorts of application to them; or if ever he had thought or done any thing in the war itſelf that deſerved any ſuch language as this. But then he ſtopt, and ſaid, he would write to my lord Arlington what was fit to be ſaid to ſuch a letter: but he would write to your majeſty too; and deſired me, I would convey it to you, ſo as it might be delivered you in private; for, unleſs he could enter into a perſonal confidence with your majeſty, he knew not how to live with you; for he knew not which of your miniſters he could truſt, ſince my lord Arlington uſed him after this manner. I promiſed his high-

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neſs to convey his letter to you: and, after a great deal of paſſion vented, and with all the profeſſions imaginable, not only of his own innocence, but that no man ſhould dare do any thing againſt your majeſty's ſervice, whilſt he had any power, he left me. And I thought it my duty to give your majeſty this bare account of all that paſſed, which I thought of ſo great concernment.

What is ſo to your majeſty's, will ever make me loſe all other regards. I told your majeſty, at my coming away, I would depend upon none but yourſelf: when that fails, I know the way to my garden again. In the mean time, you ſhall be ſerved with the ſincere and particular devotion that becomes, Sir, your majeſty's moſt loyal and moſt obedient ſubject and ſervant.

To the Governor and Company of Merchant Adventurers.

SIR, Hague, March 26, N. S. 1675.

I Received not long ſince a kind letter from you, in the name of The company of merchant adventurers of England, and ſhould be very glad to deſerve the good opinion you therein expreſs of me, and of my good intentions towards the ſervice of your company in its juſt pretenſions here. It would be an honour to me, during my preſent ambaſſy, to retrieve them, after what happened to their prejudice before my laſt arrival; as it was one to me in my laſt ambaſſy to reprieve them, which, I think, indeed, I may wholly attribute to myſelf. I am ſure, no man can be a greater ſervant and well-wiſher to all deſigns of advancing the trade of our nation, than I; nor, conſequently, to the proſperity of your company, and of the city of London, where it reſides, and where I eſteem it an honour to have been born. But as to the particular

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branches of it, eſpecially this at Dort, I dare not take upon me to judge, how much the eſtabliſhment of it in its former conſtitutions imports the advancement of our trade; becauſe his majeſty and council ſeem to have put ſome diſcountenance upon that opinion, by the liberty or connivance given, for ſo many years paſt, to the interloping trade; which makes it look as if the preſent intereſt of your company here were no more than the bare intereſt of ſome few merchants habituated at Dort, and their enjoyments of certain exemptions, which are conſiderable, perhaps, to their domeſtic and perſonal concernments, but very little ſo to the woollen trade of the nation, in which they have but a very ſmall ſhare in proportion to what the interlopers drive.

I may have leave to ſay, that in what tranſactions have paſſed through my hands upon this ſubject, during my laſt and preſent ambaſſy, I have gone to the bottom of this affair, and ſeen by what ſprings it has moved; and being a very plain man, I will deal ſo with you in this matter, and tell you, that I believe, the diſcouragements given to your company in England by the liberties allowed the interloping trade, both at firſt raiſed, and have ever ſince fomented, the ill talent that you know has been borne to it for ſeveral years by this province of Holland: for, as to the reſt of the provinces, they have none at all againſt you. I believe the bottom of it here is, that they ſee plainly, whatever privileges are allowed your company at Dort will be given by the other towns, either openly or covertly, to all thoſe interlopers who bring their woollen manufacture directly thither; and in this, the very States themſelves cannot hinder what each town will do for their own particular advantage. And the effect they apprehend from this, is, a general increaſe of the imported manufactures from England, and thereby a proportionable decay of their own;

upon

upon which the intereſt of this province very much turns: ſo that I have had it ſaid to me, almoſt in plain terms by the penſioner here, that if the king will forbid the interloping trade, and reſtore your company to its full rights and privileges from his majeſty, they will do the ſame to all they have formerly enjoyed from the States.

When I have ſaid this, I have told you all I know in your affair, the States General having deferred their anſwer to my memorial till the repreſentations upon it ſhall come from the ſtates of Holland: but I have not told you all I ſuſpect; which is, that in the preſent ſtate of your company in England, it will be very difficult to reſtore it to the former ſtate here, both from what I have already ſaid, and from the conſtitution of this government; by which it is very eaſy to prevent a reſolution of the States in any ſuch matter, becauſe the engaging of one town in a province, or of one province in the ſtates, may do that: but, on the contrary, it is very hard to revoke a reſolution paſſed, becauſe the conſent of all is neceſſary.

Upon this, you will beſt judge what reflections, as well as what paces, to make in your buſineſs. And, for my part, as my duty muſt ever engage my obedience to whatever commands I receive from his majeſty upon this matter, ſo my inclinations will always improve it, all that may be, to the ſervice of your company, which bears, at leaſt, the name of our nation and commerce, though many would have it believed that neither of them are much concerned in it. I am very much ſo, in the good-will and opinion of ſo worthy and honourable a ſociety, which I deſire you to let them know, and how much I ſhall, upon all occaſions, endeavour to obſerve them; being to them, and to yourſelf, Sir, an affectionate humble ſervant.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, April 16, N. S. 1675.

I AM to acknowledge yours of the 30th paſt, but cannot take upon me to juſtify or to clear any part of that paper given me by the States concerning the terms of a peace: they would have been glad to have been excuſed from doing it at all; and when it was done, were glad it was off their hands; and, I ſuppoſe, have thought little of it, either before or ſince. I preſſed them to it, becauſe you were pleaſed to preſs me; but knew very well, it could be nothing but a piece of form, and that the ſecret hinges of ſuch an affair could not turn before forty people, but muſt faſten firſt between his majeſty and the prince, and then paſs the forms of the ſtates. His highneſs is now perfectly well, has been up, and eat fleſh theſe four or five days, and ſhifted to-day; ſo that his life may be reckoned much ſafer than it has been theſe ſeven years. The ſtories, you ſay, are much wondered at there, of his having been viſited by the foreign miniſters, and others, every day in his ſickneſs, were ſo far from having any ground, that there were but four people, beſides the phyſicians, that ever went to him; which were, Rhindgrave, monſieur Odyke, monſieur Overkirke, and monſieur Bentinck, of which the two laſt were all that watched with him a-nights in turns; and indeed I never knew any ſickneſs of a great man ſo well governed as his; for, you know how apt they are, upon theſe occaſions, to be endangered by the officious exerciſe of too much care and ſkill. Mr. Skelton and Mr. Aſhton arrived here on Sunday, and delivered their letters that night; but the prince excuſed ſeeing them in two or three days, ſo as they are gone to Amſterdam. The elector of Brandenburgh will, I hear, come hither, either the end of this week,

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or beginning of next; and I hear for a ſecret, that the two dukes of Lunenburgh, that is, Cell and Oſnaburgh, will be here too at the ſame time, upon an interview with the prince, in which the marquis de Grana intervenes from the emperor, to agree upon the meaſures of this next campaign. The Daniſh miniſters have received the money, or the greateſt part of it, agreed by their late treaty to be paid them before they take the field; that is, the whole quota of Spain, amounting to 85,000 M. crowns, is paid by don Emanuel de Lyra, and the quota of Holland and Zealand is likewiſe paid; but whether they will immediately break with Sweden, or ſtand upon this ſtate's doing it firſt, or at the ſame time, I cannot tell; or whether this ſtate will go ſo high or no.

I have one from you by monſieur de Bas, who ſhall want no aſſiſtance I can give him here. I have likewiſe a letter from his majeſty, counterſigned by you, in favour of the Elizabeth, a ſhip taken upon the ſame pretence with the Rebecca, concerning which I wrote in my laſt, and deſired the declaration of his majeſty's underſtanding that article to include the trading from enemy's to enemy's ports: when this is done, I hope to retrieve theſe two ſhips, if the owners are not wanting to themſelves in attending the proſecution. I am ever, Sir, your moſt faithful humble ſervant.

To Sir William Lockhart.

My Lord, Hague, April 18, N. S. 1675.

I AM obliged to your excellency for the favour of one of the 5th paſt, with the account of your ill uſage on that ſide, in point of your letters; which, methinks, does not agree very well with the good intelligence between our two courts, deſerving more confidence, and fairer appearances, as far as I underſtand. Your lordſhip knows beſt the ways of redreſſing it,

though the loſs or delay of my letters hardly deſerve that care.

The tumult of Bourdeaux was, in my opinion, very prudently appeaſed; though I know not whether the ſucceſs or example of ſuch an adventure may not ſtir humours, or raiſe hopes of the ſame kind in other great towns. I confeſs, as much as I have read and thought, makes me of opinion, that thoſe governments are ſafeſt and happieſt for thoſe that govern, which are eaſieſt for them that obey; and which engage ſubjects to love and ſupport them by the opinion they ſhall loſe by any change. And the contrary of this might be poſſibly felt in France itſelf, if ever they ſhould meet with a misfortune from abroad: but that is very unlikely from the preſent proſpect of their own great force and wiſe conduct, compared with the ill concert and ill ſucceſs of their enemies; and the laſt is like to continue as long as the firſt, which, you know, is natural to all confederacies. Yet, whoever goes to ſea, or to war, runs a venture, which is all I ſhall ſay of matters out of my way and my reach; and not trouble you with the great things ſaid here by the marquis de Grana, of his maſter's army this year like to act under Montecuculi in Alſatia. All the news I can tell your lordſhip from hence, is, the ſafety of the prince; whoſe illneſs has paſſed without the leaſt ill ſign or accident; and his carriage in it, with ſo great equalneſs of temper, and conſtancy of mind, though it be not a thing of moment, yet has much confirmed the great opinion I ever had of his perſonal qualities being very extraordinary. I believe he will be abroad to-morrow, unleſs he keep in one day to take phyſic, which he is but hardly perſuaded to.

Mr. Skelton and Mr. Aſhton came hither on Sunday from the king and duke upon this occaſion of the prince's illneſs; but have not yet ſeen him, and will not return till next week. I am ever with great reſpect and

and truth, my lord, your excellency's moſt obedient humble ſervant.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, Auguſt 13, N. S. 1675.

SINCE my return on Sunday laſt, after a ſlow paſſage in very calm weather, I find myſelf obliged, by the advance you have pleaſed to make me in your's of the 30th paſt; which, by bringing me excuſes there was no occaſion for, hath given me a very juſt one of making my acknowledgments: this I ſhould do more at large, if I thought the omiſſion of ceremonies were not allowed in an intercourſe of buſineſs; and were not, indeed, the beſt manners to a perſon that hath ſo great a ſhare as you have always upon your hands.

I have, ſince my coming hither, performed in two conferences with the penſioner what I found myſelf encharged with in the inſtructions I now brought over; and acquainted him with his majeſty's reſolutions concerning the warranty of Flanders, whenever the peace is made, even with a rupture upon any invaſion; as likewiſe the defenſive alliance with this ſtate. I valued them both ſo far, that I left him extremely ſatisfied with the firſt, and not unſatisfied with the other, tho' it went not up to the height he could have wiſhed, and, as he ſaith, was in propoſal when my lord chamberlain was here. He will be ready to fall into the conſideration of both theſe whenever I deſire it, which I ſhall do when his majeſty thinks fit to poſſeſs me with the project or heads of them, and to ſend me further inſtructions how far to proceed upon them. For the peace, he expreſſeth ſtill the ſame diſpoſition towards it in this ſtate, he hath ever done; and the great deference they will always have for the ſentiments of his majeſty upon the conditions of it. Tho'

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he ſays, he doubts not but the ſtate will be induced to furniſh the expence of another year's war, if France continue the height of their demands, and the ſucceſs of the German army anſwer the expectation they have given by the late encounters. He told me he would ſpeak with the miniſters of the confederates here, and acquaint them with the continuance of his majeſty's good diſpoſitions and offices towards the advance of the peace; and endeavour to find, whether any nearer approaches might be made towards it by any new overture they could agree in, and ſhould be content to put into his majeſty's hands.

I fell afterwards into the diſcourſe of the two points our late marine treaty is ſtill a little lame in; the liberty of trade from enemy's to enemy's port, and the manner of reviſion. For the firſt, I found, he did not at all underſtand where the difficulty lay; and that monſieur Van Buninghen had never yet informed the ſtate of the difference he had ſo long entertained you with there, between concluding the future and the paſt. After opening the whole matter, and reading at laſt the declaration as you had drawn it up, I prevailed with him to fall in with it, upon theſe conditions; that, on our ſide, it ſhould not extend to any thing that happened before the laſt war; and, on their ſide, it ſhould extend to the releaſe of all taken upon that pretence ſince the laſt peace. And the firſt of theſe I was eaſy in, becauſe I knew very well there could be no caſe that concerned it before the laſt war, when both we and they were in peace with all our neighbours from the firſt concluſion of this article in 1668, till the laſt war began. Hereupon he reſolved (though it cannot be abſolutely concluded till an aſſembly of the States of Holland) however, to propoſe it to the States General, and endeavour to have it agreed by them, under the approbation of the States of Holland at their

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next aſſembly, which will be about a month or five weeks hence.

For the point of reviſion: when I found him conſtant that the forms of judicature could not be changed here; which did but agree with what you told me concerning ours in the admiralty there, however the words of the treaty may ſeem to own; I at firſt made him ſenſible of the great inequality in the expences of our reviſions and theirs; and thereupon propoſed the only expedient I can poſſibly think of in the caſe; which is, that inſtead of ſeven of the firſt judges, and eight reviſors added to them, according to the preſent forms, all reviſions ſhould be made by three of the firſt judges, and four reviſors joined with them, which reduceth the number from fifteen to ſeven, and thereby abates one half of the charge. This, I told him, was only an expedient of my own, and which I had not yet offered to the king; but that I would do it, if he would offer it to the States, and with the favour of his own opinion falling in with it. And this we agreed to do on both hands; ſo that you will pleaſe to let me receive his majeſty's opinion upon it, as ſoon as it may be without trouble; the buſineſs of the St. Joſeph, and others, depending upon the concluſion of this affair.

I aſk your pardon for beginning your trouble of this kind with ſo much length, and your belief of my being always, Sir, your moſt faithful humble ſervant.

To the King.

Hague, Aug. 13, N. S. 1675.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

SINCE my return to this place, I have had two very long conferences with the penſioner, which I will not trouble your majeſty with the detail of. The iſſue was, that though they are grown here into better

heart, by the ſucceſs in Pomerania and upon the Rhine, yet I found him ſo ſenſible of the hazard this State runneth in the perſon of the prince, and of the advantage they will receive by the guaranty of Flanders, and defenſive alliance your majeſty is reſolved on with them, in caſe they come to a peace by your intervention, that he at length fell in ſo far with what I told him were your majeſty's thoughts upon the conditions of the peace, as to aſſure me, that he would repreſent them to the prince of Orange with all the advantage he could. Beſides the difficulties he made about Burgundy, in the conſequences of it both to the Emperor and Spain, he fell of himſelf, with great perplexity, upon that of the prince's own patrimonial eſtate in that country; and ſaid, thoſe lands, with Orange, would give him too great a dependance upon France; whereas he deſired to ſee his highneſs have all upon England, and none there. Upon the whole, we both concluded that it was a matter which could not be ſo well deduced to the prince by letter as by diſcourſe; and that it were beſt for the penſioner to find ſome other pretence of attending his highneſs, and as ſoon as he could. The penſioner, though he agreed with me in it, yet ſaid, the prince was ſo unwilling he ſhould leave the Hague, that he would not do it without firſt aſking his highneſs's leave, which he would do by an expreſs immediately; by whom I writ likewiſe to the prince upon the ſame occaſion; but referring all particulars to the penſioner, when he ſhould attend him. We expect a return of this diſpatch on Thurſday; and whenever it comes, the penſioner will away the ſame day, and, in the mean time, ſtart ſome pretence that may give no jealouſy to the confederate miniſters here, with whom we agreed this matter ſhould not take air, but by conſent between your majeſty and the prince. I ſee more appearance of a peace than a truce; for I find the penſioner as averſe from this laſt, as inclined

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to the other. His chief reaſons are, that there needs as much negotiation to obtain the one as the other: the charge of a war will not be leſſened by a truce; and if the people here fall once into the uſual courſe and ſecurity of trading, they will not be prevailed with to return again into the war, though France ſhould inſiſt upon the moſt unreaſonable terms.

For what concerns the Swede, the penſioner is of opinion that nothing can be negotiated with them, ſeparate from the confederates on both ſides; though he ſaith, a private overture has been made, that in caſe this State will procure a peace between that crown and the confederates, Sweden will employ not only their offices, but their forces too, if there be need, to induce France to a peace upon the terms of Aix la Chapelle, with an exchange of Aeth, Charleroy, and Oudenarde, for Aire and St. Omers. Whether this have any ground or no, ſo much is, I think, out of doubt, that the Swedes have an extreme deſire to get out of the war, and into the mediation again, but will, I believe, find difficulties in both. I have entertained Mr. Secretary Williamſon by this night's pacquet upon thoſe matters which were pointed at by my inſtructions; but though it became me to trouble your majeſty with the account of ſuch as I had the honour of receiving from your own diſcourſes, and choſe this conveyance by the captain of the yacht, as both ſurer and ſpeedier too, if not hindered by croſs tides in the river.

I cannot end this trouble without my humble acknowledgments for that particular confidence wherewith your majeſty hath been pleaſed to honour me, in my late attendances upon your majeſty in England; and which I am much prouder of, than I could be of any titles or advantages that are the common objects of other mens purſuit and ambition. I aſſure your majeſty, mine ſhall never go farther, than to deſerve, or at leaſt acknowledge, the honour you are pleaſed

to do me, by all the ſervices of my life, and by the moſt conſtant devotion and perfect truth, wherewith I am, and ſhall be ever, Sir, your majeſty's moſt loyal and moſt obedient ſubject and ſervant.

To Mr. Sidney.

SIR, Hague, Sept. 3, N. S. 1675.

I WRIT to you from London two or three times, whether acknowledging any of yours or no, I cannot tell; for the thoughts of thoſe common forms enter not into our commerce, farther than to make the coming ſafe of what is intended between us; therefore, it is fit to tell you, that I had two from you while I was in England; one by Mr. Greenwood, and the laſt, of July 21, juſt before my coming away. I ſtayed there juſt ſeven weeks, which was much longer than was intended when I was ſent for; as, I muſt tell you, I was by the king, though, I think, not above two knew of it; and I was to make my journey a thing of my own deſire, and deſigned for my private occaſions; which, you know, I do not much trouble myſelf about. The king happened to have no buſineſs ſo much in his head, all the time of my ſtay, as what turns a good deal upon my hands; and ſo by falling very often into very long converſations, and privately with me, gave occaſion for a great deal of talk both there and abroad, and expectations of ſome very deciſive meaſures taken upon the buſineſs of a peace, which, when all is done, both as to conditions, place, time, and manner of treaty, will depend much upon what ſhall prove the final event of this campaign. Things have hit ſomething worſe of late for the French than before; but the armies, both in Alſatia and Flanders, having been left by our laſt letters in ſight of one another, will tell us how the year, and the hopes of both parties, will end. Before this can come to you, it is likely,

likely, you will hear the ſucceſs a ſhorter way; for I ſend this by Mr. Locke's conveyance, having found no kind of encouragement to uſe the French poſts between this and Paris; and ſo intending this for no further intelligence, than of what paſſes between ourſelves; that itſelf is nothing more, nor like to be, it ſeems, in haſte, than the very needleſs aſſurances of what, I know, we both feel at heart in the continuance and warmth of our kindneſs and good wiſhes to one another, wherever we are; and the ſatisfaction we ſhall receive in the knowledge of what becomes of us.

There ſeems not yet any certainty of the congreſs, and till then, I ſuppoſe, I am fixed here: whenever that happens, it is intended I ſhall make a part of it, with what company I know not; my lord Berkley's embaſſy into France being like enough to break that deſignation. Mr. Fenwick has my lord Clare's regiment, and will find advantages here, if he deſerve them; being the only Engliſhman of quality in the prince's ſervice. I expect you ſhall be as good as your word in writing ſometimes, where you are, how you do, and think to diſpoſe yourſelf. I never wanted you more than I did all the time I was in England; and never loved you better than I do, and ſhall do while I live. Sir, yours, &c.

To the King.

Hague, Sept. 6, N. S. 1675.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

THE penſioner came to me upon his return from the camp, and gave me this account of the prince's anſwer to the ſeveral points I had diſcourſed to him here. Firſt, that his highneſs gave your majeſty humble thanks for the confidence you had uſed towards him, in letting him know your own thoughts upon the ſubject of the peace, which he would endea-

vour to deſerve by communicating all his to your majeſty, upon this and all other matters, as he would do to a father: that he was very glad of the intentions your majeſty expreſſed to enter into cloſer meaſures with him and this State, which his highneſs would promote all that could be on this ſide; and that he eſteemed this a better guaranty for Flanders, than any formal one that could be given upon the peace; and therefore deſired, that the project of ſuch an alliance as your majeſty will be content to make with them, may be agreed on as ſoon as your majeſty pleaſeth, though you ſhould not think fit to conclude it formally before the peace, which yet his highneſs rather deſired; becauſe after there will be no way of keeping a party in this State from endeavouring to renew their old meaſures with France, but letting them ſee they were already taken with England, and their ſecurity found with us, which they pretend to by the French.

That for the terms of a peace, the prince, for his own part, would be very well content to refer them wholly to your majeſty; but being, with the States, engaged to their confederates by honour and treaties, they were forced, in ſome meaſure, to conſider what would ſatisfy them. That, he doubted, as things now ſtood, they would not be induced to a peace without the terms of Aix la Chapelle, and the reſtitution of Charleroy, Aeth, and Oudenarde, as abſolutely neceſſary to make ſome frontier for Flanders; that if France inſiſted to have the county of Burgundy, it would find more difficulty; and that the Spaniards, but eſpecially the emperor, put ſo great weight upon it, that, he doubted, they would not only expect thoſe three towns, but likewiſe Tournay, Courtray, Liſle, and Doway.

That the prince, for his part, rather wiſhed your majeſty would propoſe the peace upon the firſt of theſe plans; wherein, he had very good aſſurance,

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you would be ſeconded by Sweden; but, if you ſhould rather chuſe to have Burgundy left to the French, neither his highneſs, nor, he believed, the States would make any difficulties upon it. And though he were very ſenſible of your majeſty's kindneſs in the offers concerning his own particular intereſt there, yet, he aſſures your majeſty, whatever he hath or may ſuffer in them, that ſhall be no ſort of hindrance to the peace.

That whatever propoſition towards a peace your majeſty ſhould think fit to make, the prince deſires it may be done, as ariſing wholly from yourſelf, without notice of any private intelligence with him; and he thinks, the beſt way of doing it will be at the congreſs at Nimeguen; where he doth not believe the French will make any farther difficulty of ſending their ambaſſadors, when thoſe of your majeſty ſhall be there; and that the Swedes, as well as the confederates, will certainly ſend theirs immediately upon it.

This is the ſum of the penſioner's diſcourſe to me from the prince. And when I told him, that I ſuppoſed his highneſs meant, the reſtitution of thoſe three places ſhould be made in exchange for Aire and St. Omers, as was ſpoken of at my lord Arlington's being here, he told me, the prince mentioned no ſuch thing; and though he confeſſed what had paſſed in the winter, yet he thought, as affairs had ſince changed, France might find reaſons to induce them to a peace upon theſe terms; yet, upon farther argument, he ſaid, that if your majeſty ſhould think fit to propoſe an exchange at the treaty, he believed the States would not be againſt it. But he deſired, that whatever your majeſty reſolved on, might be propoſed at the congreſs; and not be, in the mean time, communicated to monſieur——; but that if your majeſty deſired any farther lights from hence, you would pleaſe to receive them as you have done theſe; aſſur-

ing me, that no perſon but the prince and himſelf had been or ſhould be acquainted with what had paſſed; and adding, that it was great kindneſs in your majeſty to avoid the noiſe which my going to the prince would have made, ſince his own had made too much among the Spaniards in the army. Upon the whole, I find, the hearts of the confederates are grown high with their late ſucceſſes, and with hopes of greater before this campaign ends; and that the prince is very much bent upon having his ſhare in the honour of it, either by a ſiege or a battle, which, I believe, we may ſuddenly hear of, and that Charleroy is deſigned. The event hereof, as well as of the farther action yet expected in Alſatia and Treves, will ſo much govern the conditions of the peace, that I do not ſee how your majeſty can, at preſent, be maſter of them farther, than by bringing it to a congreſs, and making the overtures there, according to the poſture of affairs at that time, when no new ſucceſſes on either ſide ſhall ariſe in that ſeaſon to change the ſcene. I can yet ſee no farther, unleſs your majeſty can think of any temper, wherein France and the prince may be like to agree before-hand, which will depend upon the opinion each ſide hath of their affairs: your majeſty will gueſs at that of the confederates by what I have written; and, I hope, knows that of France by better hands. I humbly beg your majeſty's pardon for the neceſſary length of this trouble, and your acceptance of the true devotion wherewith I am, and ſhall ever be, Sir, your majeſty's moſt loyal and moſt obedient ſubject and ſervant.

To my Lord Chamberlain.

My Lord, Hague, Sept. 10, N. S. 1675.

I AM to acknowledge the favour and kindneſs of one from you of the 18th paſt, and of the account you therein give me of yourſelf, as well as the reflections you make upon the affairs at preſent in the ſcenes here. To the firſt I ſhall ſay nothing at all, knowing how good a judge you are of other men's affairs; and, conſequently, how much better you muſt needs be of your own, in which all men are to be allowed for the beſt maſters, till they either confeſs to have failed of their ends, or not to have found what they expected in them. I hope you find good recruits of health in the country, ſince you reckon upon ſtaying ſo long there, as the accounts I receive of the king's intended motions make me gueſs. But for the proſpect you have there of the general affairs, I do not think you could mend it by any removes; for all will ſtill depend upon the laſt events with which this campaign ſhall end; in which, I find, if the prince had no wiſer counſellors than you and I, he would be content to preſerve his army and Flanders, till he ſaw the force of theſe German expeditions ſpent one way or other. But, I hear, he is reſolved to have a ſhare in the honour of the campaign, and will endeavour by a ſiege of Charleroy to bring the French to a battle, though they are near as ſtrong in number as he is, and much ſtronger in horſe. To this end he is drawing together eighteen regiments towards Ruremonde from the garriſons of this ſtate, which will make his foot ſtrong when they join him. But, when all is done, Flanders is the only ſcene where the late ſucceſſes of the confederates can, in any probability, receive a check this year; and whoever fights a battle, runs a venture. His grandmother died on Monday laſt, and has, I

ſuppoſe, thereby left a conſiderable addition to his fortune.

The news here to day is of taking Treves, wherein monſieur Creque, and all the officers, remain priſoners; but the ſoldiers, both French and Dutch, are ſent away free, with engagement not to ſerve againſt the confederates in three months; and the Lorrainers either to remain priſoners, or to take ſervice under that duke. If this army ſhould march into Lorrain, as was intended after the taking of Treves, I know not in what condition France would be to receive them, conſidering how ill the prince of Condé has yet been able to deal with Montecuculi. But I have an opinion that the dukes of Lunenburgh, who make the greateſt ſtrength of it, will march back with their troops, to make good their ſhare in Bremen, if the Swedes ſhould not be able to defend it; which will depend on the reſolutions of the duke of Hanover, that are not yet known. A commiſſary of Sweden, who ſtill remains here, ſays, that France will no longer inſiſt upon the point of prince William, at leaſt, no further, but that he ſhall be ſet at liberty upon concluſion of a peace. If this be ſo, I ſee not how a congreſs will fail; if not, I know not how it will be.

In the mean time, this State is very earneſt to have it begun by the king's ſending his ambaſſadors thither, which, they undertake, ſhall be followed not only by thoſe of the confederates, but the Swedes too; who ſeek all ways of drawing their ſtake, as ſoon and as well as they can, out of the preſent game.

This is all I know of to be told you at preſent from this place of ſolitude and leiſure. And for myſelf, I will only ſay, that the journey or further remove you mention, and were told I was to make immediately after my return, is a thing I never heard of before, and ſo know not what your politic informers meant by it, unleſs it be the ſame which I believe they meant

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by ſeveral other things I found they told you of my actions or diſcourſes while I was in England, and with as little grounds. God be thanked, that among ſo many purſuits and journeys I have of late, by report, been engaged in, I know of none of them, but find myſelf a man of great repoſe, and without other deſigns, than of going on that dull, eaſy, and indifferent pace that is natural to me; and by which as I can make no great fortunes, ſo, I hope, I may make no great faults, and get no great falls; but ſhall ever be your moſt faithful humble ſervant.

To the King.

Hague, Sept. 20, N. S. 1675.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

HAving found the penſioner ſenſible how little reaſon this State would have, upon any ſucceſſes, to change the terms they propoſed to themſelves for a peace, ſince they had no pretenſions of their own for carrying on the war; and having touched the ſame ſtring in a letter I writ to the prince upon the death of the princeſs Dowager, I received one yeſterday from his highneſs of the 17th, wherein were theſe words; "*Je ne voy pas qu'avant que j'arrive à la Haye* "*je pourrois faire quelque choſe pour l'avancement de la* "*paix, laquelle pourtant je ſouhaite paſſionnement ſur le* "*pied que je vous ay toûjours dit.*" I ſhould be glad your majeſty and the prince were ſo agreed, before a congreſs begins, as to draw things towards the ſame head in all matters that ſhall be negotiated there; and I ſee no other difference, than what there may be in the value of the county of Burgundy, or Aire, and St. Omers. I find them here of opinion, that nothing can be advanced towards a peace otherwiſe than at a congreſs; which they ſeem to ground only upon the great variety and number of parties and intereſts that are engaged now in the war. But, I believe, this proceeds

ceeds chiefly from the Spaniards, who are extreme jealous of all private meaſures that may be taken between your majeſty and the prince upon the ſubject of the peace.

Your majeſty will beſt judge, whether you are likely to prevail with the emperor to releaſe prince William before the concluſion of a peace; or with France to inſiſt no farther upon this point before a treaty begins; and will pleaſe accordingly to apply your offices towards ſome way or other of overcoming this difficulty, which muſt be the firſt open ſtep that can be made towards the peace, that ſo as little of the ſeaſon for a treaty may be left as the campaign will allow.

I will not increaſe your majeſty's preſent trouble beyond the profeſſions of that humble and hearty devotion, wherewith I am, and ſhall be ever, Sir, your majeſty's moſt loyal and moſt obedient ſubject and ſervant.

To the King.

Hague, Sept. 27, N. S. 1675.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

SO great an honour as I received by a letter from your majeſty, has made me equally ſenſible how much I am to acknowledge it, and which way I may beſt deſerve it, by applying my whole endeavours to what I find is ſo much in your majeſty's thoughts. We are now ſo near an end of the campaign, that I do no longer expect any deciſive action from it; and when all the fights and all the bonfires are done, I believe, the greateſt effect of it will be beſt judged by the winter-quarters of the imperial army: whether count Montecuculi will be able to gain them in Lorrain and the Upper Alſatia (as he propoſes, and, I hear, has promiſed the emperor) or ſhall be forced to ſeek them on the other ſide the Rhine, which muſt happen in caſe he does not maſter Haguenau and Saberne. For the

battles

battles expected either in Pomerania or Flanders, I am apt to think neither party will ſeek them, without ſuch advantages as the other will not give; ſo as the year may end without them. And your majeſty may already gueſs how the next ſcene is like to open, and upon what foot the negotiations of a peace are like to begin. On this ſide, I find, the overtures of them are expected from your majeſty (though, I believe, both the court of Rome and of Sweden may affect that honour) and they are, I ſuppoſe, to be made by two different motions at the ſame time; the one public, by advancing the congreſs and ſome propoſition there (or middle ſcheme between the pretenſions of the parties) that may ſerve for a ground upon which the treaty may begin; the other private, by feeling the pulſes on each ſide, and judging from thence, whence the neareſt approaches are like to be made. For the congreſs, your majeſty has all the reaſon in the world not to ſend your ambaſſadors till you have aſſurance that thoſe of both parties will immediately follow, and, towards this, I ſee no other motions to be made on this ſide, than for your majeſty either to write to the emperor, or to give me a command to ſpeak to his miniſter here; and, by one of theſe ways, either to make it your deſire, that in conſideration of your majeſty as mediator he will make way for the congreſs by putting prince William of Furſtenburgh into ſome neutral hands, without further condition; or elſe propoſe, that he may be ſent to Venice, upon caution taken from the State, that if the peace ſucceeded not, he ſhall be returned to Vienna.

For the pulſe on this ſide, I will aſſure your majeſty, it ſtill beat very faſt and very high, in all theſe provinces, towards the peace; ſo that in caſe the congreſs begins, and at Nimeguen, as it is at preſent agreed (that is, in the eye of theſe people) I think, I might undertake to make them agree to your majeſty's abſolute arbi-

trage,

trage, in any difficulty that might ariſe upon it. And the ſuſpicion of ſuch violent influences, from the bent of the people here, will make the houſe of Auſtria endeavour (though upon other pretences) to remove the congreſs to ſome remoter place. As to Spain, I am not of the ſame opinion; and find by my laſt diſcourſes with don Emanuel de Lyra, what reaſon the Prince had in his laſt with the penſioner to make ſo much difficulty upon the point of Burgundy; for, when I began only to touch that ſtring by ſaying, the greateſt difficulty would lye there, and that your majeſty agreed with the confederates in the opinion of an abſolute neceſſity to make a frontier for Flanders, don Emanuel interrupted me briſkly, and ſaid, *Qu'on ne ſe flatte pas ſur ce point, car nous perdrons plûtôt toute la Flandre par la guerre que de ceder la Bourgogne par la paix.* However I do not deſpair upon this point itſelf, if your majeſty and the prince ſhould come to agree in it; becauſe I know how unwilling the houſe of Auſtria will be to break from this State in the courſe of the treaty; and in all that has paſſed of late between them, they have not ſo much conſidered any advantages they expected from the war, as what they might hope by cloſing ſuch meaſures with this State, as might ſerve them upon all occaſions, even after the peace, and in any new conjunctures that may open when the king of Spain grows of age, by himſelf or ſome ſettled miniſtry to direct the councils, and head the actions of that crown.

But this is the hardeſt of the game: whereas, if your majeſty ſhall, on the other ſide, find France diſpoſed, by the late ill current of their affairs, to come up to the prince's firſt project, which was, the four towns for Aire and St. Omers; I ſhall look upon the peace as made, notwithſtanding any new incidents that may fall in, either from the empire or the Dane. I will deſire your majeſty, not wholly to forget the advantages that were offered you from hence upon that

ſcheme

ſcheme of a marriage between the two crowns, in caſe any way ſhould open towards it, by the great variety of accidents that may yet poſſibly happen in the progreſs of a war; becauſe in all events, France with that may find an iſſue with honour, and your majeſty with profit, as well as applauſe.

For that wherein your majeſty wiſhes the penſioner's eyes were opened, I have often diſcourſed upon that ſubject to him and others in the chief direction here, ſince the ſcene began to change to the diſadvantage of France. But they all anſwer, theſe conſiderations will not be in ſeaſon till Spain ſhall arrive at the terms of the Pyrenees; beyond which, if any ſtep ſhould ever be made, they ſay, the intereſts of this State will change, and not before. But there is yet another biaſs in this matter; and that is, the Loveſtyn party's being ſo much bent upon the meaſures with France, which turns thoſe of the prince and the preſent government here ſo much more upon Spain. But theſe will leſſen by nothing ſo much as by your majeſty's advances into cloſer meaſures and confidences with them, and by that means taking off their dependences from the other crowns, and turning them wholly upon yours. All which lies, as I ſuppoſe, in your majeſty to do, at what time, and in what degree ſoever you pleaſe, as you may judge by the laſt account I gave of the prince's and penſioner's diſcourſes upon this ſubject.

I am to beg your majeſty's pardon for this length, which I have been engaged in by the deſire of giving what lights I thought might be neceſſary now at your majeſty's entrance upon this great work of the mediation: I am, and ſhall be all my life, Sir, your majeſty's moſt loyal, and moſt obedient ſubject and ſervant.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, October 15, N. S. 1675.

I HAVE the honour of yours of the 28th paſt, with his majeſty's commands upon the two points of the marine treaty, in purſuit of thoſe gentlemen's opinion to whom the conſideration of them was referred, which I likewiſe received in a paper incloſed. To-morrow I ſhall have a conference with the States deputies upon them, and by the next ſhall be able to give you an account of them, and doubt not at all but his majeſty will have ſatisfaction in them, which way ſoever he pleaſes to turn them, ſo it may be reciprocal on both ſides.

Upon my memorial to the States, renewing the offices of his majeſty's mediation, and deſiring that paſſports might be prepared, the States have reſolved it ſhall be done without delay or difficulty; and in the ſame form with thoſe for the congreſs at Cologn. They are content to give them with blanks for the names of plenipotentiaries, and likewiſe, if his majeſty pleaſes, with a blank for the name of the place of treaty; and either to deliver them here to me, or ſend them to monſieur Van Beuninghen, to be diſpoſed of by his majeſty's order. In all which points, if you pleaſe to ſignify his majeſty's pleaſure to me, I ſhall not fail of ſeeing it performed; and queſtion not but it will be abundantly in time, conſidering from what diſtances the other parts of this kind are to be performed, and how little uſe can be made of all theſe diligences till an expedient be found out in the buſineſs of prince William.

I have, upon return of the emperor's miniſter to this place, performed likewiſe, by his intervention, the ſame offices in his majeſty's name to the court at Vienna; upon which he told me, that he queſtioned not

not to the emperor's ready compliance with his majesty in this matter, provided that France would reciprocally furnish the passports necessary for the imperial ministers and those of the allies, but more particularly those of the duke of Lorrain, upon which there had been so great an obstruction given to the late treaty at Cologn. I could answer nothing to this point; whereupon he desired me to insinuate it with the first to his majesty, that so the resolution of France might be clearly known; adding, that he supposed there would be no difficulty in this, or any other matter which concerned the present duke of Lorrain; since all the pretences given by France to any action against that dutchy had been raised from their personal quarrels with the old duke, and jealousies, or exceptions, against his personal qualities, which could not lie against the present duke. From this he fell into the general discourse of the mediation, and how powerful all his majesty's offices would prove, in case he preserved the authority of a mediator; which consisted chiefly in the opinion of his impartial dispositions to all parties. That he did not question this of his majesty, since he had charged himself with the mediation; and that he supposed, it was some of his ministers, without his knowledge, that had given occasion to the reports which were spread in the German princes courts of the Elector Palatine having begun a private negotiation with France by the intervention of the court of England, which had interrupted the measures of count Montecuculi, and drawn him back with his forces towards those parts. I had nothing to reply upon this subject, but that it was a story I knew nothing of, and that the account monsieur Spanheim gave me of his journey into England was very different from any such intentions of his master: and so I turned the discourse to the business of prince William; wherein he said, all the order he had re-

ceived was to declare, that the emperor was willing, at the opening of the congreſs, to expoſe that whole matter before the ſeveral miniſters there concerned, and leave them to judge of the reaſon he had for that ſeizure and detention.

By what I could gather from much diſcourſe between us, upon a point wherein neither of us had order to ſay any thing from our maſters, I am apt to believe, if his majeſty will propoſe an expedient in it, as a mediator, and with the ſtrength of his own deſire upon it, that the emperor will not eaſily refuſe it. And if his majeſty ſhall reſolve to make this trial, and tranſmit it hither, in a letter to be conveyed to the emperor, I ſhall, at the ſame time, engage the offices both of the imperial miniſter here, and don Emanuel de Lyra, to make way for it. This laſt was with me yeſterday, and among many diſcourſes upon the ſubject of the peace, fell upon the difficulty there would ariſe about the Pope's nuncio, who could not intervene at a congreſs at Nimeguen, though his maſter's mediation had been accepted both by the houſe of Auſtria, and likewiſe by France; and thereupon aſked me, whether the place of congreſs might not yet be changed; which I have found of late both him and the emperor's miniſter much endeavouring. I told him, I believed though his majeſty had named Nimeguen, yet he had no other engagement to it beſides the difficulty of any new agreement among the parties, who had already accepted this; and it was not eaſy to find any fitter in the provinces of this State admitted by France: and all others ſeemed to be excluded by a reſolution of France and the houſe of Auſtria, not to treat in either of their dominions. That for the difficulty of the Pope's nuncio, it was firſt to be conſidered, that though his maſter's mediation had been accepted by the emperor, and the two great crowns, yet it could not be ſo by Sweden, Denmark, or this State. So as the Pope

could not be eſteemed in this negotiation as an univerſal mediator, which was a figure would belong to his majeſty alone. And therefore it would not perhaps be of neceſſity for his miniſter to intervene at the place of congreſs, but only to reſide at ſome place in the neighbourhood, where he might have conſtant communication with thoſe princes miniſters who had accepted his maſter's mediation; and might poſſibly make uſe of it in points that were purely between themſelves, without concernment of the other parties. That to this purpoſe there was Cleve, within two hours of Nimeguen, where the exerciſe of that religion was free, and performed in the great church; or if not, there were other convents at the ſame diſtance, very fit for receiving a nuncio. Don Emanuel ſeemed to find no great exception againſt this expedient; but ſaid, it would not be agreed upon unleſs his majeſty propoſed it to France; which he therefore deſired I would inſinuate in my next letters.

The penſioner told me in my laſt conference, that the expedient I mentioned in my laſt, to have been offered monſieur Van Beuninghen, concerning the buſineſs of prince William to be agreed in the firſt article of the treaty, was offered him by one of his majeſty's ſecretaries of ſtate, which I could ſay nothing to: but I am very confident, if France will inſiſt no farther than that, there will be no difficulty in this congreſs. He told me at the ſame time, that the duke of Nieuberg had done his majeſty and the mediation a great wrong in Germany, by endeavouring to form a third party among the princes of the Rhine, and giving out that his majeſty would be the head of them. To which I only replied, it was a thing I knew nothing of; but that I was very confident his majeſty would upon no occaſion quit the figure of mediator, having once undertaken it, and being ſo univerſally accepted. I am ever, Sir, your, &c.

To the King.

Hague, Nov. 1, N. S. 1675.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

SINCE the prince's return I have had two large diſcourſes with his highneſs, and ſhall give your majeſty only the ſum of what paſſed, not troubling you with the length of many circumſtances. The prince received the aſſurance your majeſty was pleaſed to give him in ſome lines of your own hand, with very great ſenſe of ſo much kindneſs; which, he ſaid, he had all the reaſon that could be to believe from thoſe expreſſions, and would ever deſerve them the beſt he was able.

Upon the ſubject of the peace he was, at my firſt audience, drier and more careleſs than ever I found him laſt winter or ſpring. He ſaid, it was out of his head at preſent; that we ſhould find the Spaniards much ſtiffer than ſix months ago; that Montecuculi's deſire of going to Vienna had hindered his taking up winter-quarters in Alſatia; and ſome difference between himſelf and the Spaniards had ſpoiled the effect of this campaign, without which it might have gone far towards a reaſonable peace. That he ſaw the only way of making the war in Flanders would be with two ſeparate armies, which might be compaſſed next campaign; and that, if the forces of Lunenburgh and Munſter could clear Bremen of the Swedes this winter, he believed France might have their hands full next ſpring.

All his diſcourſes being of this kind, I thought not fit to purſue them far the firſt time; but yeſterday, at a ſecond audience, I reſolved to bring it to ſome point; and deſired his highneſs to tell me, not what he thought of Spain or the empire, but upon what terms he himſelf would be content to ſee the peace made,

and

and to fall into a concert with your majeſty for effecting it; which I knew you would expect ſome knowledge of by this poſt. He ſaid at firſt, it was a hard queſtion, and that he would think of it: but when I preſſed him hard, he ſaid at laſt, he found the Spaniards ſo difficult upon Aire and St. Omers, which he had firſt thought of upon an exchange, that, for his part, he would be content with the quitting of Burgundy, if the French would give two towns more in Flanders than thoſe four your majeſty propoſed; that is, Tournay and Doway; becauſe, he believed, France would make more difficulty of Liſle. And ſince your majeſty firſt made your ſcheme, the Swedes had loſt ſo much, that this, he thought, might very well be given in their conſideration. After much reply and argument, all I could clear by this diſcourſe conſiſted in theſe two points: that the prince does not think fit the peace ſhould be ſtopped by pretences of the princes of the empire to retain their preſent conqueſts upon Sweden; and that he will be content to yield the point of Burgundy, if the reſtitution of places in Flanders may be enlarged as an equivalent to it, and for the reſt, the terms of Aix la Chapelle: ſo that between your majeſty's thoughts and thoſe of his highneſs, there will be the difference only of a town or two, more or leſs; by which your majeſty will be able to judge in what compaſs this matter will turn, when it comes to a treaty.

I am ſenſible of having given your majeſty too many and too long troubles of this kind, and will not therefore lengthen this beyond the profeſſions of that conſtant and ſincere devotion, wherewith I am, and ſhall ever be, Sir, your majeſty's moſt loyal and moſt obedient ſubject and ſervant.

To Sir John Temple.

SIR, Hague, December 12, N. S. 1675.

I HAVE ſeldom troubled you ſince my laſt return out of England, leaving it to my ſiſter to entertain you with any thing that is domeſtic, and to the paper that is uſually ſent you, to inform you of common occurrences: and little of negotiation having lately paſſed here, farther than the formal progreſs of the king's mediation, in propoſing, and, at length, fixing the place of treaty to be at Nimeguen, which you deſire to know the reaſons of.

I propoſed this town to the king, and his majeſty to the parties, not as a matter of choice, but almoſt of neceſſity; for the emperor would not ſend his ambaſſadors to any in the French territories or conqueſts; and the French would not ſend theirs to any in the juriſdiction of the confederates; ſo that we fell at firſt here into the thoughts of Baſil or Hamburg, but many inconveniences were found in both; and France, upon the hopes of falling into particular meaſures or treaties with ſome of the confederates, was content this laſt year with any difficulties that might keep off a general congreſs, which was likely to unite their intereſts rather than ſeparate them. And the confederates, on the other ſide, upon the confidence of their great numbers and forces, had a mind to ſee the events of the two laſt campaigns before they fell into any ſerious thoughts of either peace or treaty: and ſo his majeſty's offers of mediation have continued now a year and a half without any effect farther, than being at length accepted by all the parties.

The ill ſucceſs of the French arms in the invaluable loſs of monſieur Turenne; the defeat of monſieur Crequi; the taking of Treves, and the ill condition of the

the Swediſh affairs, but, moſt of all, the ſtanch reſolutions of the confederates to avoid all ſeparate treaties, have, I ſuppoſe, inclined France to ſet on foot the general one, by the offer they made of ſending their ambaſſadors to any town in four of the provinces belonging to the States; which gave ſome eaſe in that firſt pace, of propoſing a place for the congreſs which might be generally accepted.

Yet the confederates were not without their difficulties upon this point. They ſuſpected the intentions of the French in this overture itſelf, as a piece of compliment and cajolery to this State, whoſe diſpoſitions towards the peace they knew to be different from thoſe of all the other confederates: they apprehended very real effects upon the iſſue of it, by the practices that might be carried on in theſe provinces by the French ambaſſadors and their inſtruments, in ſuch a concourſe of ſtrangers as a general treaty was like to draw into them. Upon this ground the Imperial and Spaniſh have violently oppoſed the accepting this offer from France, and would have drawn the treaty to Frankfort, Cologn, Baſil, or Hamburg, rather than into any of theſe provinces.

The prince of Orange himſelf, and the penſioner here, with others of the States, had ſo much of jealouſy in the matter, that they would rather have choſen the treaty in another country, and would by no means hear of either Utrecht or Breda, in regard of their vicinity to the heart of this province, where the pulſe beats higher towards a peace upon the intereſts of trade, than in any of the reſt. But all of them were ſenſible, that it would not be borne by the people here to refuſe this offer of France, and thereby reject the treaty on this ſide, which ſeemed by it to have been ſo much advanced on the other.

From theſe reaſons we fell into the thoughts of ſome town in Gelderland, and the moſt remote from

hence, as the eaſieſt to be accepted by the confederate miniſters, which fixed the propoſition at length upon Nimeguen; though indeed the very ſituation of it, as a center between Spain and Sweden, the eaſtern parts of the empire and England (which are all to have parts in the treaty) made an appearance of ſome convenience, as well as neceſſity in the choice.

You will have known from England ſooner than from hence, that I am deſigned by the king for one of his ambaſſadors in this mediation; and I begin accordingly to turn my thoughts and affairs towards that remove, which, as to the air, being much drier than this, I do not diſlike. As to the buſineſs, I expect an encreaſe of trouble and expence, as well as honour. I remove my whole family, put off my houſe here, and have fixed already upon one at Nimeguen; for which, with ſtables and out-houſes neceſſary to it, I am like to pay a thouſand pounds a year, which is but a part of thoſe exactions like to be practiſed there upon this occaſion, and which cannot be remedied by this State; where the magiſtrates of each town have a juriſdiction uncontrolable by the States themſelves, either general or provincial, and are like themſelves at Nimeguen to give us no remedy in this affair, which they are all concerned in.

What proſpect there is of a peace like to reſult from this congreſs, upon what terms, or what time, is very difficult to tell you: the delays of it muſt be ſuch as the parties pleaſe, it being in the power of either to raiſe them upon the formal or ſubſtantial parts of the negotiation. The conditions to be firſt propoſed will be diſtant enough, becauſe they are like to come from all the ſeveral parties; though ſome of them would be glad his majeſty, as mediator, would draw the firſt ſcheme according to what he ſhall eſteem moſt juſt and agreeable to the common intereſts of Chriſtendom; and they doubt not, but whatever peace his majeſty ſhould propoſe, he may do it in ſuch manner, as to make

make it eaſily accepted by all parties, and take upon him to be the arbiter as well as mediator in this great affair. But, for aught I ſee, our councils are fixed to act no ſuch part; ſo as the mediation will not at all lead, but follow the diſpoſitions of the parties; as theſe, I ſuppoſe, will do the events of the war, ſince no ſuſpenſion of arms is like to be agreed during the treaty.

The preſent diſpoſitions, I think, are theſe: France will pretend to all their conqueſts, both of the laſt war and this; but would at preſent be content, I believe, to part with a town or two in Flanders, ſo as they may keep Burgundy; and will make no difficulty to leave the empire and this State as they were when the war began (after all this expence of blood and treaſure). Spain, ſeeing ſo many confederates united in their quarrel, and engaged to make no peace without their conſent, reckons upon no leſs than the Pyrenean treaty, and would keep off this till ſome ſucceſſes of the confederates arms may make way for ſuch conditions. The emperor finding this war has almoſt united the empire in the intereſts of the houſe of Auſtria, and drawing money from theſe States, as well as from Spain, is very unwilling to loſe the conjuncture, and therefore would be glad to have the war go on; and ſo will not only inſiſt upon the reſtitution of Lorrain and Philipſburgh, but reparation of damages to the princes of the Rhine. Theſe States aſk nothing for themſelves, but the reſtitution of Maeſtricht, and of commerce as it was before the war; but think it neceſſary for their own ſafety, that a good frontier be left the Spaniards in Flanders; and ſo will endeavour to have five or ſix good towns reſtored there, in exchange for Burgundy, which they are leſs concerned in. But all the allies agree in repoſſeſſing the duke of Lorrain, which is a matter that France is moſt reſerved in, as having no pretence, either of right or conqueſt, there; and yet, juſtly eſteeming it a matter of more importance to them

them than all the reſt, conſidering not only the force and riches of that province, but the ſituation of it and the abſolute engagements of the preſent duke to the intereſts and perſon of the emperor. If theſe points could be agreed, nothing that concerns the new quarrels in the North would, I believe, hinder the peace; but upon the preſent ſtate of the war and the mediation, I do not ſee any ſudden iſſue very likely by a treaty: and how the events of another campaign may raiſe the hopes or fears, and thereby change the intereſts and pretenſions of the ſeveral parties, no man can conjecture. In the mean time, I would not leave this place, nor end the year without giving you this general ſcheme, by which you may the eaſier judge of the motions you ſhall hear of in the courſe of the treaty of the war, ſince you are pleaſed to ſay, it will be a ſatisfaction to you. I know it will be ſo, to hear we are all well at preſent here. My wife intends to take a ſtep into England about the time I ſhall go to Nimeguen, but to return to me there within a month or two. My ſon, I hope, entertains you often from London, as my ſiſter does from hence, which allows me to trouble you leſs. I am ever, Sir, your moſt obedient ſon and moſt humble ſervant.

To Mr. Sidney.

SIR, Hague, December 13, N. S. 1675.

THOUGH I did not like the date of your laſt letter, yet I did all the reſt very well. I thought Lyons a little too far off for one I wiſh always in my reach: but when I remembered, it was a place of ſo great trade, and where you told me yours had been very good in former times, I was contented to think you ſpent your time to your own advantage and ſatisfaction, though not to your friends, by keeping at

ſuch

ſuch a diſtance. I was very well pleaſed the other day with a viſit made me by captain Freſheim, who was much in your praiſes; but I did not like that he ſhould make you kinder to him than to me: yet I think he deſerves it of you, if all be true that he tells, for he pretends to think you *le plus bel homme*, & *le plus honnête homme*, and I know not what more, that never came into my head, as you know very well. However, I was mighty glad to hear him ſay, you had the beſt health that could be, and that you looked as if you would keep it, if you did not grow too kind to the place and company you lived in, or they to you. Yet, after what you tell me of the French air and Bourbon waters, I am much apter to wiſh myſelf there, than you in theſe parts of the world; and though I hear news every day from all ſides, yet I have not heard any ſo good, ſince I came upon this ſcene, as what you ſend me of the effects I am like to feel by the change whenever I come upon that where you are: they will be greater and better than any I can expect by being the buſy man, though *je pourrois bien faire merveilles*, with the company I am joined to; and nobody knows to what Sir Ellis may raiſe another ambaſſador, that has already raiſed one from the dead. They begin to talk now of our going to Nimeguen, as if it were nearer than I thought it a month ago: when we are there, it will be time enough to tell you what I think of our coming away. Hitherto, I can only ſay, there are ſo many ſplinters in the broken bone, that the patient muſt be very good, as well as the ſurgeon, if it be a ſudden cure. And though I believe both where you and I are, the diſpoſitions towards it are very well, yet I doubt of thoſe who are farther off on both ſides of us. For aught any body knows, this great dance may end as others uſe to do, every man coming to the place where they begun, or near it: only, againſt all reaſon and cuſtom, I doubt the poor Swede,

that

that never led the dance, is likelieſt to pay the fidlers. I hope you know what paſſes at home; at leaſt, it is pity you ſhould not: but if you do not, you ſhall not for me at this diſtance; and ſince you talk of returning, the matter is not great. In the mean time, pray let me know your motions and your health, ſince the want of your cypher keeps me from other things you ſay you have a mind to tell me. I hear nothing of the letter you mention to have ſent me by ſo good a hand; ſo that all I can ſay to that is, that by whatſoever it comes, any will be welcome that comes from yours; becauſe nobody loves you better than I, nor can be more than I am, yours, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, January 7, N. S. 1676.

I SPARED you the trouble of a diſpatch by the laſt poſt, which was made needleſs by one I received from Sir Lyonell Jenkins, with the account of his arrival here. You will have by this ordinary another from him, with the particulars of his reception and diſcourſes with the prince; as likewiſe one from us both, with the account of our reſolutions how to diſpoſe of ourſelves, in order to our beſt compliance with thoſe ends of our preſent embaſſy, which we conceive his majeſty has propoſed to himſelf, and ſignified to us by our inſtructions. I ſhall refer you more particularly to thoſe diſpatches, and tie up this to what is neceſſary in anſwer to yours of the 21ſt paſt, which laſt pacquet brought to my hands.

I have not yet been able to bring the States to any reſolution concerning the ſending away paſſports for Sweden before the arrival of theirs here; the conferences they have deſired upon that ſubject having been hitherto excuſed by the emperor's miniſter here,

upon

upon other pretences. But the prince told me yeſterday, that the true reaſon was, that neither that miniſter, nor any others of the confederates here, were willing to do any thing in it without monſieur de Lyra, who is not yet returned from Bruſſels, though he has been for ſeveral days expected. He has written to the prince, that he had the Spaniſh paſſports for the French plenipotentiaries, and would put them into my hands upon his arrival here; which made me very glad to be by advance poſſeſſed of thoſe from France for the Spaniſh. And immediately upon receipt of thoſe from monſieur de Lyra (which, I hope, may be to-day or to-morrow, the wind being now fair from Antwerp) I will ſend both thoſe and the Dutch by a trumpet to the governor of Charleroy, according to your orders.

I ſend you one incloſed from the States to the biſhop of Straſburgh, ſince, as you obſerve, there is none expected from him, either to them, or any of their allies. I hope you endeavour the procuring paſſes from France to be likewiſe diſpatched for the miniſters of the ſeveral allies mentioned in the States reſolution; and find it will be expected, that among them ſhould be three for the States ambaſſadors, though the congreſs be in their own country, ſince, as monſieur Beverning ſays, they may have occaſion of moving ſometimes themſelves, and often of diſpatching couriers, either into the Spaniſh Netherlands, or into Germany, where they go in danger of the French. For theſe reaſons, I ſuppoſe, it will likewiſe be neceſſary to procure paſſports for his majeſty's ambaſſadors there. All which, I hope, will be tranſmitted by the French plenipotentiaries, if they are ſo forward on their way as we hear.

Yeſterday I ſhewed the prince and the Lorrain envoy the French paſſports I received for the miniſter of that duke. Upon which ſubject, beſides the diſcourſes

that

that paſſed yeſterday, of which you will receive an account in a journal from Sir Lyonell Jenkins, I received this day the incloſed letter from monſieur Serinchamps, and I doubt the matter will find difficulty on the confederate ſide, if it prove to have been a thing reſolved on by the French, and not done by chance. I mean, the ſtyle given the duke of Lorrain. As to the other omiſſions of the ſaid paſſports, I think there will be likewiſe a neceſſity of amending them; ſince I find them not only in the Lorrain, but in the Spaniſh paſſports likewiſe; though having not ſhewed them yet to any Spaniſh miniſter, I ſhall leave him to make his own exceptions: but I tell you of them beforehand, becauſe they are ſo obvious, that no man can fail of them; and, by knowing them early, you may poſſibly ſave time, by preparing the French court to amend them. They are theſe two: firſt, that they reach only to the perſons of the plenipotentiaries, and thoſe of their train, without comprehending their baggage, horſes, papers, or any ſuch words; whereas you know very well what happened lately to the cardinal of Baden by ſuch a paſſport. And, in the next place, there is no power given of diſpatching couriers from the ſaid ambaſſadors with their paſſports, without which no negotiations can be carried on. Upon the amendment you deſired in both theſe points to the paſſes of the States, though the defects were but one word too much, and another too little, I not only procured them, but likewiſe deſired that the ſame form might be uſed by all the confederates, which I was aſſured of; and to that end, copies have been ſent them: and there is no queſtion but they will inſiſt to have them granted as full from France, as they have yielded themſelves. That you may obſerve the diſtance, I incloſe a copy of one of the French paſſports, which you may pleaſe to compare with that of the

States

States to the biſhop of Straſburgh, which runs in the ſame form with all the reſt.

As to the neutral country, his majeſty apprehends the ſame difficulties that I did in obtaining it from France, ſo far as he has propoſed it here. I confeſs I thought when you gave me order to make inſtances for it to the States, ſo as to comprehend Meurs, you had taken your meaſures by monſieur Ruvigni, and found by him that his maſter would be content to make the prince of Orange ſuch a compliment, as reached no further than a little contribution. The matter had not been great, if it had not been propoſed here from his majeſty; but ſince it has, I hope they will not refuſe it in France, ſince it is of ſome conſequence as to the force of his mediation, when he is firſt refuſed by any of the parties, in what he thinks fit to propoſe, which he has been yet by none. In caſe, however, this ſhould not ſucceed to the prince of Orange's ſatiſfaction, I think the leaſt bounds his majeſty can preſcribe for the neutral country that way, will be the Foſſa Mariana, which runs from river to river; and the rather, becauſe the incluſion of Cleve and the villages near it will not be only neceſſary for the convenience of the congreſs, but for the reſidence of ſuch perſons as are expected to come from Rome: and beſides, there will be no certainty in any other bounds that can be given by the denominations of towns. And without ſome ſuch line as the channel I mention, both parties will be out upon prey, and truſt to diſputing after, whether the place where they made it was in the neutral country or no.

I hear don Emanuel de Lyra is like to be, at laſt, one of the plenipotentiaries, and come in as ſubſtituted by the duke de Villa Hermoſa, who ſhall be named firſt in the commiſſion. I think it will be neceſſary the Spaniards ſhould be minded to avoid a difficulty which may ariſe, in caſe he receive not a commiſſion like

like the others, from the king of Spain, but only from the governor of Flanders; in which caſe he will not be treated as an ambaſſador, whatever he may pretend: as, I remember, monſieur de Bergeyck did, in the very ſame caſe, at Aix la Chapelle. I am, Sir, your moſt faithful humble ſervant.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, January 7, N. S. 1676.

HAVING conſidered together, as well as we could, his majeſty's inſtructions, and his intentions in this embaſſy, and hearing that the French plenipotentiaries are already on their way, and will be at Maeſtricht on the tenth of this month; and finding that the plenipotentiaries of this State are here upon the place, watching our motion, their baggage being already laden in a bilander in this canal, we have concluded together, that there is no other way of complying with the ſcope and deſign which his majeſty ſeems to have propoſed to himſelf in this affair, but by applying ourſelves ſeparately at preſent to the two ſeveral points which ſeem to us to be intended by them. And therefore, that all parties concerned in the war may take notice of his majeſty's great diligence, in ſending his ambaſſadors to the place of congreſs, and of ſome of them being actually arrived there, whereby the ſeveral parties may be invited to the ſpeedier diſpatch of theirs; and likewiſe, that an ambaſſador may not be wanting upon the place, to receive and compliment the firſt miniſters that arrive there from any of the parties, we have jointly reſolved, that I, Sir Lyonell Jenkins, ſhall ſet out towards Nimeguen to-morrow, for the acompliſhment of the abovеſaid ends. And whereas, by an article in our inſtructions, we are commanded, before we leave the Hague, to ſee the buſineſs of the paſſports, and the declaration

claration of the neuter country, put into ſuch a way of diſpatch, as that the buſineſs of the aſſembly may not be retarded by any thing wanting on the part of the States and their allies; whereas an obſtruction, by reaſon of the abſence of Don Emanuel de Lyra, hath been lately made in the reſolutions of the States and their confederates concerning both theſe points; and that a new incident (and, as we fear, of ſome conſequence) hath yeſterday diſcovered itſelf in the buſineſs of the paſſports, by the obſervation firſt of the prince of Orange, and more ſharply of the Lorrain envoy, upon the defects of the French paſſports to that prince; we have likewiſe jointly reſolved, that I, Sir William Temple, ſhall ſtay ſome days longer at the Hague, to purſue and ſolicit theſe two affairs, of the paſſports and the neuter country, to a full and ſpeedy iſſue. We have likewiſe jointly reſolved, in order to make our public letters of leſs trouble to his majeſty by their length, to tranſmit from time to time, by way of journal (ſuch as for an eſſay goes here incloſed) all the paſſages and matters of fact that occur to us as relating in any wiſe to this negotiation of the peace. We are, Sir, your moſt faithful humble ſervants,

W. Temple.
L. Jenkins.

To the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

My Lord, Hague, Jan. 8, N. S. 1676.

I Have the honour of a letter from your lordſhip by Mr. Morley, and ſhall be extreme glad to deſerve it, by the good fortune of ſerving him in the way you deſire, and he propoſes to himſelf. By what your lordſhip writes, his pretenſions are ſo ſmall, that he might juſtly have claimed them, without the advantage of belonging to your lordſhip,

or of a recommendation that will always have ſo much power with me in much greater matters. The circumſtance of being ſo particularly under the eye of my lord ambaſſador Jenkins will, I doubt not, keep him ſafe from any of thoſe dangers abroad in point of his morals, which you ſay he eſcaped at home, and from which no place is free. But, as far as my obſervation of him may be neceſſary, he ſhall not fail of it, with the concernment and care that are due from me to your lordſhip's commands; in which I ſhall not yield to any of my collegues, how great ſoever their pretenſions may be to your lordſhip's friendſhip, or their emulation upon any ſuch occaſion of your ſervice. I was extreme glad to receive the knowledge of your lordſhip's good health, and with it a teſtimony of your favour and remembrance, which I can pretend no otherwiſe to deſerve, than by the reſolutions I have ſo long taken and conſtantly obſerved, of being always, with great paſſion and truth, my lord, your lordſhip's moſt faithful, and moſt humble ſervant.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, January 14, N. S. 1676.

BY the laſt pacquet I received together both yours of the 24th and 28th, with his majeſty's reſolution, that we ſhall expect the firſt viſit be made us as mediators by all the miniſters of what character ſoever, arriving even after us at the place of congreſs. And with this order I received the ground of it, which was the inſtruction given upon this point to his majeſty's ambaſſadors at Cologn, and their practice in purſuit thereof. His majeſty's commands ſhall in this, as all other matters, be obeyed;

obeyed; but I had not heard any thing of this from Sir Lionel Jenkins before he parted hence, though we had often diſcourſed upon the conception we both had of uſing the contrary form to all ambaſſadors that arrived after us; and upon diſcourſe with the prince, ſince I received this inſtruction, he ſaid, the precedent of what was done at Cologn ought certainly to guide us; but that he thought it had paſſed otherwiſe with their ambaſſadors. This evening monſieur Beverning and monſieur Haren came to me, to let me know, that, having acquainted the States with their being both ready to begin their journey upon the firſt commands, they had received orders to attend me, and entirely follow what I ſhould adviſe them in that point; and in all matters of ceremony, when they came upon the place, to conform themſelves wholly to what we expected from them. And they were farther ordered to acquaint me, that after our arrival there, the States would look upon the town of Nimeguen as a neutral place, where all matters ſhould be carried by the burgomaſters command there, according to the orders they ſhould receive from the mediators, both as to their own receptions, or that of any other ambaſſadors.

I anſwered to the ſeveral points, after acknowledgment of the States civility in their reſolutions; firſt, ſince an ambaſſador of his majeſty was already upon his way thither, I thought it would be beſt for them to begin their journey likewiſe as ſoon as they could, both in reſpect to his majeſty, and likewiſe to give the more and earlier appearance to the world of the congreſs beginning to be formed; and hereupon they aſſured me they would part in two or three days.

To the ſecond, I told them, that his majeſty expected the ſeveral ambaſſadors, though arriving laſt

upon the place, ſhould give the firſt viſit to us as mediators, ſince the ſame was done to the Swedes at Cologn by his majeſty's ambaſſadors. To this they anſwered, there would be no difficulty on their parts, but they doubted there might be ſome from the other ambaſſadors, ſince they had taken it for granted at Cologn, that the mediators had ſtill viſited thoſe who arrived after them; and whatever might have been done there by his majeſty's ambaſſadors, they were ſure the contrary had been done to them (the States ambaſſadors) who had leſs reaſon to expect it; and that arriving laſt both at Aix, and after at Cologn, the Swediſh ambaſſadors made them the firſt viſit in both places, after notice ſent of their arrival. And they deſired me to give you this information, not in regard of any concernment they could have in it, who were reſolved to give us the firſt viſit, though they ſhould laſt arrive; but to the end you ſhould conſider, what meaſures would beſt prevent conteſts, or difficulties of meetings, in caſe any other of the ambaſſadors ſhould refuſe it, ſince there may be difference between what is voluntarily given by each party, and what is challenged by the mediators, and inſiſted upon in caſe any of the parties diſpute it. I told them, I ſhould let you know what they ſaid upon this point, but muſt follow my orders, in caſe we received no new ones therein.

To the third, of the magiſtrates and officers being to receive our orders as to matters of receptions, I told them, his majeſty had commanded us to admit of none, but to enter the town with our trains, and nothing more; and in all points to introduce, as far as we are able, the form of living like private perſons among all the ſeveral miniſters during the whole courſe of the aſſembly; but ſince we refuſed any public honour or reception, we did not think it reaſonable any other ſhould have it. They replied, all

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the difficulties would be, in caſe the others deſired it, which we did not, and that might poſſibly happen from the emperor's ambaſſadors; and monſieur Beverning ſaid particularly, he did expect it from monſieur Colbert, by what he had done of that kind at Aix la Chapelle in the treaty of 1668. But if any of them ſhould demand it at Nimeguen, they would anſwer, that addreſs muſt be made to the mediators in it, whoſe orders were wholly to be obeyed. I anſwered, whenever that was done, we would acquit ourſelves the beſt we could, and the neareſt to what we conceived with his majeſty's intention.

Upon the news of the French plenipotentiaries being upon the way, and ſtaying at Charleville for their paſſports from Flanders and this State, though don Emanuel de Lyra was not arrived with thoſe from Bruſſels, which I hear he is poſſeſſed of, with orders to put them into my hands; yet I had a mind to ſend away thoſe of the States, but knowing it would be of no uſe, unleſs it were done with the States conſents, on Sunday laſt, meeting the penſioner with the prince, I aſked his highneſs, whether he were content I ſhould ſend them away? and the penſioner, whether he thought the States would likewiſe conſent? Both of them told me, as to their opinions, they were, that the States paſſports ſhould not be ſent till I had received the French paſſports for their ambaſſadors, and for the miniſters of all their allies mentioned in that reſolution given me upon this ſubject (and which I tranſmitted to you) and this in the ſame form, or as full, as thoſe they had agreed upon according to our amendments. They ſaid further, that their paſſports could be of no uſe till thoſe of Spain were likewiſe ſent (through whoſe countries they firſt muſt paſs) and, they were ſure, thoſe would not be delivered by the Spaniſh miniſters without receiving thoſe from France at

the ſame time, and in the ſame form; but after al our diſcourſe they both ſaid, they could tell m but their own opinions, and that the States muſt b conſulted upon it.

Yeſterday the prince dined with me, told me the States had been of the ſame mind, and that ſhould receive their reſolution upon it before thi pacquet went; but it is not yet come, though I am now within half an hour of its uſual time of cloſing having been unexpectedly detained by a long viſit from the two Dutch ambaſſadors, which makes me beg of you to let one of your clerks return me a copy of this letter.

I have not heard one word from Sir Lionel Jenkins ſince he parted from hence on Thurſday night, and doubt very much the delays of the paſſage he would needs chooſe by water in a yacht of the States, to avoid the ill way between Utrecht and Aearnham by the breaches of digues, the winds having changed the very day after he parted, and continued ſo contrary ever ſince, that I cannot imagine how he will get up the river. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

My Lord, Hague, Jan. 17, N. S. 1676.

I Received the honour of a letter from your lordſhip the beginning of this week by Mr. Widdrington, who ſhall not fail of any ſervices I can do him here, as I have already aſſured him, and deſired him to let me know all occaſions wherein he thinks he can make uſe of me. I had the opportunity of bringing him to his highneſs, who dined that day with me; and to give him the better entrance, I ſhewed the

prince

prince your lordſhip's letter. He read it, and ſmiled at the latter part of it; but when he had done, he came to me, and deſired me to remember his ſervice to you, and aſſure you, how much he valued your recommendation, and that Mr. Widdrington ſhould find it by all the encouragement he could give him. After a little ſtop, he ſaid; "And for the latter part "of his letter, pray tell him, they are very much "miſtaken;" and then pauſing a little, as if he were concerned at it; he ſaid, "God! I never ſaid any thing "to Sylvius, that I was not content my coachman ſhould know." I laughed, and aſked him, "And would you have me tell my lord treaſurer ſo too?" He turned about, and ſaid reſolutely, "Yes, do." I entered no farther into this matter, nor ſhould have ſaid this, but that the prince bid me, and ſeemed concerned, that what your lordſhip writ upon that ſubject ſhould be believed there. The uſe I made of it was a little more important, which was, to go ſince to the prince and tell him, that being now upon my journey to Nimeguen, and having been here a year and a half, his majeſty would have reaſon to think he had been very ill ſerved, if in all this time I were not able to give him a right and full account of his highneſs's intentions in what his majeſty concerned himſelf; but that the king ſhould be ſtill in pain to know them, and caſting about by what hand to find them out. The prince ſaid, he could not ſay more to me than he had ſaid to me already, and written to the king upon all occaſions; and that he could not tell what more we would know of him, nor why Sir Gabriel Sylvius was ſent over, when the compliment might either have been ſpared, or made by Mr. Skelton as he paſſed by. However I endeavoured to draw what new light I could from his highneſs, and comparing all he had ſaid with all that I had gathered from the current of his former diſcourſes to me, upon any points wherein I thought his

majeſty was concerned to know the bottom of all he means, I thought fit to ſet it down in writing; and that I might know whether I had in every thing rightly apprehended him or no, I ſhewed it him, and ſend your lordſhip the paper incloſed, and what his highneſs ſaid to me upon reading of it.

I deſire your lordſhip will pleaſe to ſhew it to his majeſty, with this account of the occaſion of it, which was given me by your lordſhip; and, for my own part, I believe, this is what his majeſty muſt truſt to, as to the prince's pretenſions, and that no talk or reaſoning will alter them, nor any thing elſe beſide ſome new and great accidents or changes in the affairs of the parties now in war.

However, this need not diſcourage his majeſty from endeavouring to know more from his highneſs by any other hand; though he ſaid lately to me, upon ſome of theſe diſcourſes, that whenever he could ſay any thing wherewith he thought his majeſty would be more pleaſed, he would be ſure to do it by me. For the truth of all this, if his majeſty deſires to be further ſatisfied in it, I am very well content he ſhould ſend this letter and the incloſed paper to the prince, which will be the infallible way of knowing it, and without engaging me further in the ill-will or expoſtulation of Sir Gabriel Sylvius, or his patrons; though their meaning to me, in the way they deſigned his coming over hither, and endeavoured it for three months together, has been but too well diſcovered to me, as it has been, I am ſure, very little deſerved. He is not yet come, though I have expected him every day this fortnight paſt; and reſolve, upon his arrival, to carry myſelf to him in all points as becomes me to a perſon ſent by his majeſty hither, and give him any aſſiſtances he deſires me.

There is a point of inſtruction I received laſt poſt from Mr. Secretary Williamſon, which I would likewiſe

wiſe be glad his majeſty would pleaſe once more to reflect upon, as a thing that may poſſibly bring an ill incident upon the courſe of the treaty. It is, that his majeſty's ambaſſadors ſhould expect the firſt viſit from all others, even that arrive after them at the place of congreſs; and this is grounded upon an inſtruction to thoſe at Cologn, to give it in the ſame caſe to the Swedes, as then mediators, and upon their having actually done ſo: now the Dutch ambaſſadors, on the contrary, arriving after the Swedes at Cologn, received, without any difficulty, the firſt viſit from them, and thought all others had done ſo too; and it appears by our ambaſſadors journal, that though they did it, yet the Swediſh ambaſſadors intended it firſt to them, and had accordingly ſent a gentleman to aſk an hour of them. Now there is a great deal of difference between what is voluntarily given, and what is of due demanded. And though the Dutch ambaſſadors are reſolved to do it, yet if thoſe of the emperor, or the other greater crowns ſhould make a difficulty, as I forſee they may, the congreſs might be *accroché des cérémonies* between the parties and mediators, whoſe buſineſs it is to prevent or compoſe them between the parties themſelves. Beſides, this ſtate has reſolved to look upon Nimeguen, not only as a neutral town during the treaty, but, in a manner, put it into the hands of the mediators, by ordering both the commander and magiſtrates to take orders from them upon all emergencies; ſo that it ſeems to belong to them, not only as mediators, but as perſons at home, to do the honour of the congreſs to thoſe that arrive after them.

It will be a troubleſome thing, I doubt, to his majeſty to give very particular inſtructions upon every point of ceremony that may ariſe; and therefore when he reſolves upon this, I know not whether the

the eaſieſt will not be to ſend us one general inſtruction, commanding us to avoid all, as far as we can, both between the mediators and parties, and between the parties themſelves; and when that cannot be, to leave it to us upon the place to act in point of ceremony by conſent, as we judge beſt for his majeſty's honour, his ends in the mediation, and the practice of other princes, but particularly that of the treaty at Cologn, of which Sir Lionel Jenkins is ſo well informed

I humbly beg your lordſhip's pardon for ſo long a trouble, which I ſhould not have given you, had not I thought it neceſſary for his majeſty's ſervice; and you will forgive me the eaſier, becauſe I am ſo much what I ſhall ever be, my lord, your lordſhip's moſt faithful, &c.

The Paper incloſed.

Hague, January 17, N. S. 1676.

AS far as I can any way diſcover of his highneſs's intentions, they are theſe,

Firſt, As to his majeſty, to live always not only with the duty and reſpect that becomes him, but with all the kindneſs and neareſt conjunction of intereſts that can be, while his majeſty pleaſes to continue the deſires of it, and that affection which he has profeſſed to him by ſo many letters, and ſo many ſeveral hands, and now lately by Sir Lionel Jenkins.

As to the peace, the prince ſays to me upon all occaſions, that he, for his own part, would be very glad to make it upon any terms his majeſty ſhould think fit, if his majeſty can prevail with Spain to conſent to it, which his highneſs doubts he himſelf ſhall not be able to do; and he finds this ſtate ſo far obliged to that crown, both by their treaties, and for their aſſiſtance in their late extremities, that he does

not

not ſee how they can break from them, or, if they ſhould, who would afterwards truſt them.

That the greateſt teſtimony his majeſty can give his highneſs of his real kindneſs and good-will to him, would be to bring him out of this war with ſome ſafety to his honour, and to his country, and thereby to ſhew the world, that as none of his majeſty's allies were nearer to him in blood, nor truer to him in affection, ſo he conſidered none of their intereſts more than his in this preſent quarrel.

That the beſt way to this that his highneſs can think of in reſpect to the honour of France and his majeſty's particular advantage, as well as the certainty of a ſudden peace, was that which had ſome time ſince been mentioned to his majeſty, of effecting a match between the king of Spain and Mademoiſelle, with the conqueſts ſince 1666 for her dowry; and in this caſe, his highneſs would undertake for ſuch a preſent, as the penſioner then ſpoke to his majeſty, and doubted not to perſuade Spain to do as much. But if this could not be, then he ſaw no way left but for his majeſty to diſpoſe France to reſtore thoſe towns in Flanders, which were neceſſary to leave the Spaniſh Netherlands in a condition of defence; upon which his highneſs and this ſtate would uſe their utmoſt endeavours to incline Spain to a peace: and his highneſs ſays upon all occaſions, that he is ſure his majeſty may do either of theſe whenever he pleaſes, and without any difficulty at all; and, he believes, without going againſt any intereſts of his own, or his kingdom's.

That if neither of theſe can be compaſſed, and France reſolve to have no peace, but upon the foot of affairs as they ſtand at preſent, and his majeſty will only conſider their poſſeſſion, and not the juſtice of it, or intereſt of Chriſtendom in it, his highneſs ſays very plainly, that though he wiſhes his majeſty all the glory

glory that can be by the preſent mediation, and this ſtate will contribute all they can towards it; yet for his own part, he ſees no remedy but that they muſt try the fortune of another campaign, in which he hopes ſo to behave himſelf, as that his majeſty ſhall not be aſhamed of him, nor at all leſſen the kindneſs or good opinion he has hitherto expreſſed for him.

Having read this paper to his highneſs, and aſked, whether I had apprehended him right? he ſaid, ſo right, that if you had been within him, you could not have done it better; and if I were the beſt catholic in the world, and you were my confeſſor, I could ſay no more to you.

I aſked, but can you ſay no more to any other man? his highneſs anſwered, I would not ſay ſo much to any other, but can ſay more to no man.

To Sir Edward Dearing.

SIR, Hague, February 18, N. S. 1676.

I Am to acknowledge two of yours, one of the 25th, paſt, the other without date, from yourſelf and the company of Merchant Adventurers. As to the laſt, I find by a clauſe of it, or at leaſt I conjecture, that my letter to Sir Richard Ford upon that ſubject had been communicated to you; in which caſe I can find little to add upon that matter, unleſs it be the aſſurance of my continuing my good wiſhes and endeavours to the ſervice of the company, as far as I can any way make uſe of his majeſty's character or commands, or they can make uſe of me, or my ſmall credit here, upon this occaſion. I follow the method in it which is judged by the gentlemen of the company at Dort moſt advantageous to the ends they propoſe to themſelves; ſo that if they want my aſſiſtance,

where it can be of any uſe to them, it is their own faults. The States of Holland have not, that I hear of yet, given their opinion or anſwer upon the laſt papers offered by the ſecretary of the company, and have promiſed that nothing ſhall be concluded till I have firſt had a conference with the States General upon it, which will be the time for me to fall in with any weight upon this matter; there is, I confeſs, a circumſtance in the conſtitution of this government very unlucky to the retrieving of an affair that is once paſt, as very favourable towards preventing it before it be done; which is the neceſſary conſent of ſo many members in each province, as well as in the State. I made uſe of this circumſtance to fence againſt this reſolution of the States for three years together, during my laſt ambaſſage, and ſhould not have queſtioned the ſame ſucceſs, if it had been kept off till my return. But it was done in the little interval Sir Gabriel Sylvius was here, before my laſt arrival; and what I ſhall be able to do towards the recovery of it, I cannot promiſe, but ſhall be very glad to give you effects inſtead of aſſurances.

What I have ſaid here anſwers likewiſe the firſt part of your own letter; for the reſt of it, I am extremely obliged by your kindneſs, in giving me part of any thing that touches your own particular, believing it to proceed from your juſtice in eſteeming me (what I am very much) concerned in all that does ſo. I am very glad of your coming into the commiſſion of the cuſtoms, becauſe I remember it was a thing you wiſhed; otherwiſe I ſhould rather have deſired to ſee you called to his majeſty's ſervice in another ſort of ſphere, and in which his choice is not ſo large, as, I ſuppoſe, it may be in this. In ſuch a caſe I ſhould be glad to have ſerved you, in this I neither pretend to it, nor am very ambitious of the merit, which I eſteem ſo ill proportioned to yours; and therefore I ought,

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in true old Engliſh phraſe, to give you thanks for your thanks, as what is wholly of your grace, and does not at all belong to me.

I had a letter from you ſome time ſince upon your coming to be governor of the company, and directed my anſwer to be left at Sir Robert Southwell's; I wrote to him ſince about a buſineſs of his own, or at leaſt that he had much concerned himſelf in, but have not heard that either of them were received, which I ſhould be glad to know by a line from him when he is at leiſure. My wife and ſiſter are your humble ſervants, and ſo am I, with very much affection and truth.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, January 21, N. S. 1676.

I AM to acknowledge at the ſame time two of yours by Mr. Skelton, of which one to myſelf, and the other to Sir Lionel Jenkins and me, with duplicates of Mr. Skelton's diſpatches, and a third by the laſt packet of the 4th current. Upon the two firſt, I ſhall refer myſelf to Mr. Skelton's diſpatches, which he ſaid he would make this night, with an account of all that paſſed in his audience from the prince and conference with the penſioner; as likewiſe what ſhall paſs this evening at a conference we are to have with the States. I am ſorry to find he is not like to carry with him to Vienna the joint offices of the States, but hope his majeſty's will be of force enough not to need them. You know very well what accounts I have ſtill given you of the States obſtinacy upon this ſubject, not to meddle in it one way or other, upon the ſcore of prince William's carriage particularly to this State, which the penſioner to-day aggravated by many circumſtances, and repeated it ſeveral times, that they could

could not be advocates for him, without falling into *le mepris de tout le monde.* Both the prince and the penſioner ſeemed amazed at Mr. Skelton's ſaying, that he believed his majeſty has been engaged in this deſire to the States by monſieur Van Beuninghen's aſſurance of their compliance with it; and the prince ſays, it has been without any orders; but the penſioner affirms, it has been abſolutely againſt his orders, if he has done it. And, I fear, you will have reaſon to judge from this pace of his, and his violent preſſing Sir Lionel Jenkins's haſty diſpatch, that you may very often take wrong meaſures from him there, if they agree not with what you receive from hence, and that his natural diſpoſitions enter much into the motions he makes; of all which I gave you advice, when I was in England, at large; as well as of the true reaſons that will hinder his maſters from taking ſo far notice of all theſe paſſages, as to think of recalling him. I have ſince written ſomething of it likewiſe to Mr. Secretary Coventry, upon occaſions he gave me, by ſome letters of his, to think this matter was not well enough underſtood, or taken notice of there.

I have little to ſay in anſwer to yours upon the buſineſs of paſſports, the great default being yet in your hands, to ſupply by new ones from France in form, and for all the allies. You will find, by the incloſed memorial of don Emanuel de Lyra, that the paſſports from Spain are arrived for France and Sweden; and they will not fail for the biſhop of Straſburgh, I ſuppoſe, ſince this morning the emperor's miniſter ſends me word, that his maſter has accorded them for him, as well as for the other two, and that he expects them next week. The States alſo let me know, that they have aſſurance of thoſe from Lunenburgh, as well as Brandenburgh, by the firſt: but for Denmark, they do not ſpeak with ſo much confidence; their miniſters here have been peremptory, not to have any ſent into

Sweden,

Sweden, till thoſe from that crown are firſt in my hands; but for themſelves, they have ſpoken ſo ambiguouſly of theirs, that the States have reſolved to ſend an expreſs to Copenhagen to procure the expedition of them, and to let them know, that if they are not diſpatched hither within a certain time, they (the States) will ſend theirs away for Sweden.

I have not yet ſeen don Emanuel de Lyra ſince his return from Bruſſels, and ſo cannot give you an account of the certainty of what is here reported concerning don Juan's being in the head of affairs in Spain. From France I have never had more than one ſhort letter upon lord Berkley's arrival, though I have writ ſeveral times; ſo that whether it arrives by miſcarriages of letters (to which mine between Paris and this place have been very much ſubject ſince my arrival here) or from my lord Berkley's little health, or great affairs. I find I muſt depend upon no advices from France, nor motions in order to the congreſs, but what muſt be handed by you to me here, which I thought was neceſſary for you to know. I am ever, Sir, your moſt faithful humble ſervant.

P. S. Monſieur Beverning, before he went out of town, ſent me the incloſed copy of his journal at Cologn, concerning the viſits of the Swediſh ambaſſadors to them; not that they are concerned who reſolve to make the firſt viſit, though arriving laſt, but from an apprehenſion that others may make difficulty of it.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

My Lord, Hague, January 24, N. S. 1676.

IN my laſt of this day ſe'nnight, I endeavoured to give your lordſhip a full account of the prince of Orange's intentions, which his majeſty was, it ſeems, ſtill

ſtill in pain to know. Since that time Mr. Skelton arriving here, and telling me (as well as the prince) ſeveral things the king had ſaid to him upon that ſubject, has given me occaſion to add ſomething upon it, to the end his majeſty may in all points know the very bottom of it, and take his meaſures accordingly: for, as far as I underſtand, all matters are carried on according to the perſonal diſpoſitions of the men that are at the head of them, and the prince is a man as difficult as ever I knew, to be talked either into or out of any thing, wherein he thinks his honour or intereſt concerned.

Mr. Skelton told the prince, that his majeſty knew very well there were ſome little people about his highneſs, that endeavoured to perſuade him the king had not the kindneſs for him he profeſſed; at leaſt, not ſo much as for France: but I aſſured him of the contrary, and that his majeſty would ſhew it by the meaſures he intended to take with him after the peace was made. Upon the firſt words the prince anſwered, that he deſired nothing in the world more, than that the king would have the kindneſs for him he profeſſed. Mr. Skelton, I remember, made ſome reflections to me; and thought it ſounded as if the prince doubted it. And I remember Sir Lionel Jenkins, upon his ſeveral diſcourſes with his highneſs, ſaid, he doubted the prince had ſomething lay at heart. I will firſt tell your lordſhip, that, now Moulin is no longer about the prince, I do not ſuſpect any others I ſee near him, of the deſign to ſow ill impreſſions of his majeſty's intentions; nor do I really think he has, any further than might be gathered from his diſcourſes in my laſt paper; that is, he believes his majeſty will not, for his ſake, break any of the meaſures he has of late years taken with France. He thinks ſome partiality is ſhewed in the buſineſs of the levies; and is troubled that his majeſty will not bring him out of this war with ſome

honour, which he believes may be done (as he often ſays) with a word ſpeaking: and that, as affairs ſtand in Chriſtendom, France cannot refuſe any thing his majeſty ſhall deſire. And from theſe impreſſions he ſays upon diſcourſe, that effects only, and not any words or expreſſions, can remove him.

Mr. Skelton told me (and I ſuppoſe the prince too) that his majeſty would undertake for any conditions upon a peace, that the prince ſhould propoſe of advantage to himſelf. I have often talked with his highneſs upon that ſubject; and on occaſion of monſieur Ruvigni's propoſing his maſter buying all his lands in the county of Burgundy, even at a value unreaſonable, I have ever found him ſo cold upon this ſubject, that in ſhort, nothing will be faſtened on him. And I remember, at laſt he told me, that he knew to another man it would look like affectation, and therefore he would not ſay it; but to me that knew him ſo well, he would tell me very truly, that though he underſtood very well the value of his lands in Burgundy, yet upon the peace, he would be content to loſe them all, to get one good town more for the Spaniards in Flanders.

Becauſe I mentioned in my laſt paper an offer that had been made his majeſty by the penſioner, upon a match between the king of Spain and Mademoiſelle, with the French conqueſts for her dowry; which was a thing the prince's head has run mightily upon, as in his majeſty's power to bring about; though I do not think it at all likely, or that the reſtoring even of the Swedes to all they have loſt, could either diſpoſe France to it, or engage his majeſty in an earneſt purſuit of it; yet, becauſe I doubt your lordſhip has not heard any thing before of that matter, when it went from hence in ſome of my letters about a year ago, I thought it was fit to explain to you ſo far only as to let you know the ſum offered by the penſioner to be

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paid privately upon it into his majeſty's treaſure, was two hundred thouſand pounds; and the like ſum to be endeavoured by them from the Spaniards; which the prince, as I ſaid in my laſt, told me he did not doubt of. This is the utmoſt of what I can ſay upon this ſubject; but I ſhall be glad if any other perſons can find out more of the prince's intentions, or any thing that his majeſty will be better pleaſed with. But I doubt they are theſe at preſent, and that they will not change by other means than ſome new accidents or revolutions in the farther courſe of time or war.

I aſk your lordſhip's pardon for this farther trouble, and ſhall not increaſe it beyond the aſſurances of my being ever, my lord, your lordſhip's moſt faithful and moſt humble ſervant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Hague, January 24, N. S. 1676.

I WAS extremely ſorry to find, by yours of the 27th paſt, ſo ill an account of your health of late, which I had heard nothing of before, but what monſieur Spanheim told me at his return hither, of your being ill of the gout, without more circumſtances. But ſuch an attack as you ſpeak of deſerves more than ordinary of your own philoſophy, and your friends concernment; among whom my ſhare, I am ſure, does not fail you. I hope your health will change with the ſeaſon, and that the ſpring will cure what, it ſeems, came upon you with the laſt fall, and has continued ſo long.

I ſuppoſe you had not ſeen monſieur Van Beuninghen very lately before you writ, or elſe you would have known more than you did of the effects my diſcourſes had with the penſioner upon the ſubject of the packet-boats. For though he does not uſe to fail in

what he promiſes, and ſets down for the help of his memory (both which he did upon this occaſion) yet I complained to the prince, after having received your laſt, that nothing had been written upon it to monſieur Van Beuninghen, though the penſioner had promiſed that ſhould be done. For he had ſeen letters that poſt from monſieur Van Beuninghen, which acknowledged thoſe he had received upon that ſubject. So that, till I hear you find them ſhort of what they were intended for, I know nothing more to be done on this ſide towards your ſatisfaction in that ſmall affair.

I very well underſtand the bias you are pleaſed to give to what I ſaid, of your being like to be informed of all that paſſed here, when Sir Gabriel Sylvius arrives, by the thanks you give me for that aſſurance; though you might, I think, have very lawfully turned it another way, upon the notice I gave you at the ſame time of my leaving this place, upon my journey deſigned for Nimeguen: yet, ſince you rather choſe to give it this tour, I will very eaſily, and like a plain man confeſs to you, that, conſidering the manner in which you intended Sir Gabriel Sylvius ſhould come over hither, I had no reaſon to believe at all, you cared for any advices I could give you from hence; or believed they were worth his majeſty's receiving, or at leaſt conſidering; which is all I ſhall ſay upon that matter, having not the vein of being pleaſant, nor the diſpoſition of being unpleaſant to you upon this or any other occaſion.

I humbly thank you for your good wiſhes to the negotiation I am like to be employed in; and in which I had need of ſomething at leaſt like that to pleaſe me, conſidering the circumſtances of trouble and expence with which I am likely to enter upon it, and without any help in one from the exchequer, or in the other from my lord Berkley, for the ſucceſs of it. I believe

you

you can gueſs as far and as well as any man elſe, and will need none of my conjectures; which are, only that it will, like all other affairs, depend upon the accidents that ſhall fall in, more than the deſign or ſkill of thoſe that play the game. I am ever your moſt faithful humble ſervant.

To Mr. Secretary Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, January 28, N. S. 1676.

I AM to acknowledge yours of the 11th, with the repetition of his majeſty's orders, for his ambaſſadors to expect the firſt viſits from all others at the place of congreſs, though laſt comers. I ſuppoſe, if France conſents to it by agreement, and Sweden upon precedent, as you pleaſe to ſay, and this State upon reſolutions already taken, there cannot reaſonably be any difficulty made upon it by the reſt; or if there ſhould, his majeſty will be as much at leiſure as any of the parties to deliberate upon it. For the point of ſolemn entries, I concerted that whole matter with Sir Lionel Jenkins before he went; ſo as he hath already given the example, and ſeen it followed by the Dutch ambaſſadors upon their late arrival.

I incloſe you the copy of a letter I received this afternoon from monſieur Pompone, upon the ſubject of his majeſty's late repreſentations by monſieur Ruvigni, concerning the exceptions taken here to the French paſſports. I ſhall not communicate it to the States, nor make any anſwer that will be authorized here upon it, till I am impowered to do both by his majeſty's orders; which I hope I may receive by the next poſt, finding the ſubſtance of this letter had been tranſmitted into England at the ſame time with the diſpatch to me. In the mean time I thought fit to go immediately to the prince, and acquaint him with it; deſiring to know, if he pleaſed to have me, by advance, give his

majeſty his ſenſe upon it. His highneſs, having read it very conſiderately, ſaid very frankly, that he would tell me his thoughts, and that I might let his majeſty know them; but that he would not anſwer what thoſe of the ſtate might be. Upon the firſt point, he ſaid there was a miſtake; that the words omitted were not only *papiers* or *écritures*, but *hardes*, *baggages*, *chevaux*, *chariots*, &c. And that they had not there thought the words *papiers* or *écritures* neceſſary, or inſerted them, had not I made inſtances to the States upon particular orders from England to that purpoſe; which they ſuppoſed, with the other amendment tranſmitted to me, had been concerted with the French miniſter there.

For the ſecond, that his highneſs believed no congreſs ever was formed without that power given the miniſters of diſpatching couriers; nor did believe this could have any effect without: that the ambaſſadors of this ſtate would (he ſuppoſed) find it neceſſary to write to him from the congreſs where-ever he was, either here or in the field; becauſe he did not think the States would make any great paces in ſuch a negotiation without his advice: that however, though the States would be willing to diſpenſe with it, as France was content to do, yet it would alter all the meaſures had been taken in this matter already, by my agreeing with them in the form of paſſports. For thoſe from Spain were already come, and thoſe from all the confederates were upon the way, in the ſame form: ſo that if France ſhould make this change, though the confederates ſhould all conſent to it, yet the new form muſt be ſent to them all, and new paſſports diſpatched upon it: that neither the States, nor their allies, would (he was ſure) conſent to give them any larger form than what they received.

For the third point, concerning Lorrain, that it was of much more importance than the reſt; and that his

his highneſs believed it was the beſt news could be ſent to thoſe of the confederates that deſired not the peace: that he had never thought France pretended a right to the duchy of Lorrain: that he would not enter into the argument upon the treaty of 1662, mentioned by monſieur Pompone; but that this ſtate had lately renewed with this duke the treaty they had made with the laſt, and doubted they could not treat at Nimeguen, any more than at Cologn, without admiſſion of the Lorrain miniſters; but he was very ſure (which he repeated ſeveral times) that the Imperialiſts and Spaniards would not do it, eſpecially after this pretence made by France to that duchy; which, for that reaſon, his highneſs was glad I did not make public till I received orders from his majeſty upon it. He concluded, that all this was before his majeſty as mediator, whoſe part was to obſerve the juſtice of each party's pretenſions, and induce them to reaſon upon it. That I had told him, his majeſty had concerned himſelf already in it, and in thoſe very words. That he had thought this particular of Lorrain ſomewhat ſtrange, and had ſpoken to monſieur Ruvigni about it, beſides what had been repreſented to him upon the other points; and that his majeſty, being ſenſible of the reaſons of it, he did not doubt, would ſet all right. His highneſs added, that now his majeſty found how long a work the forming of a congreſs would prove (which yet was abſolutely neceſſary to a peace) he hoped he would not ſuffer the ſteps that were already made to be loſt; ſince if that ſhould begin again at the end of next campaign, for aught he ſaw, the aſſembly might not meet before another campaign were at leaſt approaching.

This is the ſubſtance of what his highneſs told me upon monſieur Pompone's letter; though with more length, and with ſuch a readineſs, as ſhewed me he had the full graſp of all his buſineſs himſelf; and I

wondered, I confeſs, to hear him repeat the little things that had paſſed upon the firſt head between me and the penſioner, and the words I had told him out of your letter of the 7th; having hardly myſelf remembered the laſt, and not thought the penſioner had troubled him with ſuch circumſtances as the firſt. When he had done, I aſked his highneſs, whether I ſhould write all this to his majeſty as his ſenſe? and having repeated it to him, he deſired I would, and by this poſt, for gaining time. I have been ſo long with the prince upon this occaſion, that I have no more time left than will ſerve to aſſure you of my being, Sir, yours, &c.

To Monſieur Pompone.

Hague, Jan. 30, N. S. 1676.

SIR,

THE day before yeſterday I had the honour of yours of the 21ſt, concerning the neceſſary paſſports for forming the congreſs at Nimeguen, where his excellency the Engliſh ambaſſador Jenkins has been for near three weeks, and two of the ambaſſadors of Holland more than eight days, in expectation of ſpeedily meeting the reſt of the miniſters of which this aſſembly is to be compoſed. What keeps me here is nothing but the difficulties which have been lately ſtarted about the affair of the paſſ-

Au Monſieur Pompone.

La Haye, Ja. 30me, S.N. 1676.

Monſieur,

J'AY receu devant hier l'honneur de la vôtre du 21re, ſur le ſujet de paſſeports neceſſaires à former le congrès de Nimegue, où monſieur l'ambaſſadeur Jenkins a deja ſejourné près de trois ſemaines, & deux des ambaſſadeurs de cet Etat, plus de huit jours, dans l'eſperance d'y voir bientôt les autres miniſtres qui doivent compoſer la dite aſſemblée. Je ne ſuis icy detenu que par les ſeules difficultez ſurvenuës depuis peu dans cette affaire des paſſeports, dont ceux

paſſports; thoſe of this ſtate are now in my hands, and thoſe of the crown of Spain are in the hands of monſieur de Lyra, the Spaniſh envoy. Without doubt you muſt have received, by the care of monſieur de Ruvigni, copies of the reſolutions of the States General, and of a memorial from monſieur de Lyra, ſetting forth their intentions, not to put the one into my hands, nor ſend the others to the lords the French ambaſſadors, until I ſhall be poſſeſſed of reciprocal paſſports from his moſt chriſtian majeſty to make the exchange.

ceux de cet Etat ſont entre mes mains, & ceux d'Eſpagne en celles de monſieur de Lyra, envoyé de cette couronne-là. Mais vous aurez ſans doute deja receu par l'entremiſe de monſieur de Ruvigni, les copies de la reſolution des Etats Géneraux, & d'une memoire de monſieur de Lyra, contenant leurs intentions, que les uns ne me ſeront pas mis entre les mains, ni les autres envoyez à meſſieurs les ambaſſadeurs de France, juſqu'à ce que je ſeray en poſſeſſion des paſſeports reciproques de ſa majeſté très chrêtienne pour en faire l'échange.

As for the difficulties which are here made about the paſſports for Spain, which monſieur Ruvigni cauſed to be ſent ſome time ſince, I ſhould not have thought them of importance enough to fall under ſo long conſideration, had you not communicated your thoughts to me on that head; ſince it is well known, that, in concert with the States General, I ſettled the form of thoſe paſſports by order of the king my maſter, and recommended it to their care to ſee that the paſſports of all the other allies ſhould be drawn up in perfect conformity to

Pour les difficultez qu'on a fait icy ſur les paſſeports pour l'Eſpagne, que monſieur de Ruvigni m'a fait envoyer depuis quelque tems; je ne les aurois pas crû aſſez importantes pour meriter tant de conſideration, ſans les reflexions que vous avez faites là-deſſus, puiſqu'il faut avoüer que j'ay concerté avec les Etats Géneraux le formulaire des paſſeports, par ordre du roy mon maître, & leur ay recommandé le ſoin de faire en ſorte que ceux de tous leurs alliés fûſſent dreſſés ſur

to them; which they accordingly took upon themſelves to do, in compliance with my requeſts. I could not make any doubt, but the ſaid form of paſſports (being taken from that of thoſe uſed at Cologn, and having undergone the corrections of Mr. Secretary Williamſon) had been reſolved upon at London, in concert with monſieur Ruvigni. The lords the States General were of the ſame opinion; and pretend that the reciprocal paſſports of France and Sweden ought to be given in as ample a form as thoſe agreed upon by all the confederates.

ſur le même, de quoy ils ſe ſont chargés à mes inſtances. Et j'ay toujours crû que la dite forme ayant été dreſſée ſur celle dont on s'eſt ſervi à Cologne, & corrigée ſur les reflexions de monſieur le ſecretaire Williamſon, elle avoit été reſolûe à Londres par concert avec monſieur de Ruvigni. Meſſieurs les Etats Géneraux en ont crû le même, & pretendent que les paſſeports reciproques de France & de Suede ſoient donnés d'une forme auſſi ample que ceux qui ſont accordés par tous les conféderéz.

As for the importance of thoſe two points on which all the difficulties here are founded, you will be pleaſed to obſerve, that for the firſt, it is not only the word [*papiers*] papers, that is ſaid to be omitted, but alſo the words [*baggage, hardes, équipage*] baggage, goods, and equipage, and ſuch like other words uſually inſerted in this place in paſſports; and which I find in thoſe paſſports which his moſt chriſtian majeſty granted to the plenipotentiaries of Holland at Cologn. The word *papiers* was not in the form propoſed here, but added by Mr. Secretary Williamſon. As for the other point, namely, about

Pour ce qui eſt de l'importance de ces deux points ſur leſquelles on a icy fondé les difficultez, vous remarquerez s'il vous plaît, qu'au premier ce n'eſt pas le ſeul mot de papiers *qui manque, mais ceux auſſi de* baggage, hardes, équipage, *& les autres accoutumés en cet endroit de paſſeports, & que je vois dans ceux que ſa majeſté très chrêtienne a accordés aux plenipotentiaires de cet Etat à Cologne. Le mot de* papiers *avoit été ajouté par monſieur le ſecretaire Williamſon, ne ſe trouvant pas dans le formulaire propoſé icy. Pour l'autre*

about the liberty of the ſeveral miniſters at the congreſs to ſend their couriers, barely in virtue of their own ſimple paſſports, I own that I am of opinion, that it is a thing not only practiſed conſtantly on all theſe occaſions, but, indeed, a thing of abſolute neceſſity to bring the negotiations to a happy concluſion, by ſecuring that ſafety and eaſe of correſponding between princes and their miniſters; who can never come with ſuch full and perfect inſtructions, as never to have any occaſion to have recourſe to their maſters for new orders, upon the many unforeſeen incidents to which treaties are ſubject. In the firſt form of paſſports ſent by me into England, the expreſſion was, that the couriers of the plenipotentiaries, in virtue of a good paſſport, ſhould be free; but I received orders from Mr. Secretary Williamſon to blot out the word *good*, and that in order to take away all difficulties and diſputes which might hence ariſe in an affair ſo eſſential to ſuch negotiations.

l'autre point, de la liberté des miniſtres au congrès de faire paſſer leur couriers ſur leurs ſimples paſſeports: j'avoue d'avoir crû que c'étoit une circonſtance non ſeulement pratiquée en toutes telles occaſions, mais en effet fort neceſſaire à faire réuſſir les negociations, par la ſeureté & facilité de communication entre les princes & leurs miniſtres, qui ne pourroient être tout d'un coup ſi pleinement inſtruits, que de n'avoir pas recours aux nouveaux ordres de leurs maîtres ſur les incidents auxquels le cours des traitez ſera toujours ſujet. Dans le premier formulaire que j'ay envoyé en Angleterre il étoit porté que couriers de plenipotentiaires munis d'un bon paſſeport ſeroient libres. Mais monſieur le ſecretaire Williamſon m'a envoyé les ordres de faire effacer le mot de bon *pour ôtre toutes ſortes de diſputes qui pourroient ſurvenir ſur une matiere ſi eſſentielle à telles negociations.*

As to the complaints made by monſieur de Serinchamps concerning the paſſports for Lorrain, and the reflections you have made thereon, I judged it a matter of too great weight for

Pour les plaintes de monſieur de Serinchamps, ſur les paſſeports pour Lorrain, & les reflexions que vous avez faites là-deſſus: j'ay eſtimé cette matiere de trop grande

for me to intermeddle with in the leaſt wiſe, without expreſs order from the king my maſter; and for that reaſon I have not communicated any part of your letter to the lords the States General, as knowing it would be news too agreeable to thoſe in their alliance, who are not altogether ſo well diſpoſed to the peace, as they have been repreſented to be; and who therefore might from hence take occaſion to defeat all thoſe hopes which Chriſtendom has entertained, from the great vigilance and care of the king my maſter, employed in forming this congreſs; without which, no diſcourſes or propoſals of peace could ever come to good effect.

I can't finiſh this letter without aſſuring you, that I now retain at the Hague all thoſe ſentiments of eſteem which I have heretofore had for your perſon, and the firm reſolutions that I have taken to be ever with the greateſt zeal, Sir, your moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant, &c.

grande importance pour m'en mêler aucunement ſans les ordres de ſa majeſté; & pour cette raiſon je n'ay encore rien communiqué de vôtre lettre à meſſieurs les Etats Géneraux; ſachant bien que ce ſeroit une nouvelle trop agréable à ceux de leurs alliez, qui n'ont pas les ſentimens ſi portés à la paix, que ces meſſieurs m'ont toujours temoigné, & qui pourroient tacher par-là de faire evanoüir toutes les apparences que le roy mon maître en a deja fait naître à la Chrétienté par ſes grands ſoins, & diligences employées à former le congrès, ſans lequel tous les diſcours & ſpeculations de la paix ne pourroient ſortir à aucun effet.

Je ne puis achever cette lettre ſans vous aſſûrer, que je retrouve encore à la Haye tous les ſentimens d'eſtime que j'ai eu autre fois pour vôtre perſonne, & les réſolutions que j'ay pris dès ce tems-là d'être toujours avec beaucoup de paſſion, monſieur, vôtre très humble, & très obéïſſant ſerviteur.

To Mr. Secretary Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, January 31, N. S. 1676.

UPON Mr. Skelton's diſpatch, and the ſucceſs of it, he aſſured me of having given you a very full account, and thereby ſaved you a trouble from me upon that occaſion. There was only one thing he deſired of the deputies, for the eaſe of his memory, which was, the deduction of thoſe many reaſons whereon they excuſed their compliance with his majeſty's deſires, and they promiſed to put it into my hands by the next poſt; but have failed of that, as well as of the anſwer I expected about the extent of neutral country, by reaſon of the penſioner's illneſs, which happens frequently, and ever gives a ſtop to thoſe affairs that turn wholly upon his hand. Another thing the deputies propoſed to us at the end of the conference, which was, to know if his majeſty would expect an anſwer of that letter, which would make it public here; whereas they pretended to be ſo ſenſible of not complying with it, as rather to wiſh it might be taken no further notice of: and in this I expect his majeſty's pleaſure, when you think fit to ſignify it to me.

I incloſe you a copy of my anſwer to monſieur Pompone's letter (which went to you by my laſt) wherein I endeavour to facilitate the two ſmaller difficulties about the Spaniſh paſſports, by owning the concert of the form here by his majeſty's orders, and the recommendation of it to all the confederates. And whereas he ſeems to except againſt couriers paſſing with only a ſimple paſſport from any of the ſeveral miniſters, and to think the word *papiers* unneceſſary, I thought fit to let him know thoſe changes were made in England; in hopes thereupon, that his compliance to them would prove the eaſier.

For

For the main point, which is that of Lorrain, I could not think fit to enter into any diſcourſe upon it, or ſo much as to communicate it to the States here, without his majeſty's order; becauſe I knew the publiſhing of it would, on the one hand, engage the honour of France ſo much the deeper in adhering to it; and, on the other, would animate the deſires and endeavours of ſome part of the confederates to break the congreſs upon this ſingle point. Upon ſome diſcourſes with the emperor's miniſter here, after the title given to the duke of Lorrain was taken notice of in the paſſports from France, he made no difficulty to tell me very poſitively, that his maſter would never treat without the Lorrain miniſters; and I remember his words were, *Et aſſeurez-vous, monſieur, qu'en venant au congrès nous les pouſſerons toujours devant nous.* Monſieur Serinchamps was as peremptory on the other ſide, that his maſter would never ſend without the ſtyle of duke; but I believe would be much more ſo, if he knew the pretenſion that France now advanceth to that duchy, which he would believe nothing of, when we ſpoke of it ſeveral times upon occaſion of the paſſports. I had then an opinion, that the thing was not done by chance, and aſked him, whether they might not ground a pretence upon the treaty of 1662? but he ſaid with great confidence, they could not. His arguments were, firſt, the invalidity of that treaty by the late duke's having no right to diſpoſe of his duchy from his nephew, becauſe if the Salique law had courſe there, it was unalienable from the heir male; if the feminine ſucceſſion, then that duke himſelf had no title, but it belonged to prince Charles, even in the life of his uncle. Secondly, the treaty's being void by the non-performance on the French ſide of the only condition which appeared of any

advantage

advantage to Lorrain; which was aſſuming their princes into the rank of thoſe of the blood of France, which was mentioned in the treaty as that condition, without which it had never been made; and upon its being regiſtered in the parliament of Paris with the leaving out of that clauſe, the old duke declared it void (as I remember he ſaid) within a fortnight or three weeks after it was ſigned. Thirdly, the treaty of Marſal being concluded the year after, between that king and duke, by which the duke was to continue the poſſeſſion of all his territories beſides Marſal, in the ſame manner as he enjoyed them by the treaty of 1661. And after that treaty of Marſal in 1663, it ſeems, that duke continued quiet till 1670, when France ſeized upon the whole duchy; but declaring, as monſieur Serinchamps ſaith, to all princes of Chriſtendom, and particularly to his majeſty, that it was only upon perſonal quarrels to the duke, and without intention to keep any part of the country. And he ſaith, in all this time France never made the leaſt mention of the treaty of 1662, having found neither the princes of the blood, nor parliaments of France, would conſent to it; and thereupon no further thoughts were ever had of it, to perform the ſmalleſt conditions of it, any more than the greateſt. Theſe were monſieur Serinchamps' arguments, which I thought were fit to be ſent you upon this occaſion, when the matter lieth before his majeſty, and an expedient is not, I fear, like to be found on this ſide; and without it, the congreſs, for aught I ſee, muſt break; wherein his majeſty's honour, as well as inclination, you know, is now a good deal engaged.

I yet hear nothing of Sir Gabriel Sylvius, though the wind has been very good; and, having received none from you by laſt poſt, am in hopes he

he may bring me the orders neceſſary for my proceeding in this difficult matter. I meet with enquiries here every poſt after his majeſty's reſolution in the buſineſs of reviſions. I am ever, Sir, your, &c.

To Meſſieurs Colbert and d'Avaux.

Hague, Feb. 1, N. S. 1676.

Meſſieurs,

I Received yeſterday your excellencies letter from Nimeguen of the 19th paſt, and was willing, as ſoon as poſſible, to give you an account of the concern I had in an accident lately fallen out in the buſineſs of the paſſports, which muſt have given you ſome trouble, as it has given me much greater uneaſineſs. The paſſports of the States General have been for ſome time in my hands, as thoſe of Spain have been in monſieur de Lyra's the Spaniſh envoy; but on this condition, that the former ſhall not be ſent to your excellencies, nor the latter delivered into my hands, till I become poſſeſſed of his moſt chriſtian majeſty's reciprocal paſſports, as well for the

A Meſſieurs Colbert & d'Avaux.

La Haye, Fevr. 1, N.S. 1676.

Meſſieurs,

J'AY receu hier de Nimegue celle de vos excellences du 19me paſſé, & n'ay pas voulu manquer de vous temoigner, au plûtôt le part que je prens à un accident ſurvenu dans l'affaire des paſſeports, qui vous doit avoir donné beaucoup d'ennuy, mais à moy encore beaucoup plus d'inquietude. Ceux de cet Etat ont été quelque tems entre mes mains, & ceux d'Eſpagne entre celles de monſieur de Lyra, envoyé de cette couronne-là; mais à condition que les premiers ne ſeroient pas envoyés à vos excellences, ni les autres livré entre mes mains, juſques à ce que je ſeray en poſſeſſion des paſſeports reciproques de ſa majeſté très-chrêtienne, tant pour les pleni-

the plenipotentiaries of this State, as for thoſe of their allies. Some difficulties have been here ſtarted about the paſſports, which, by monſieur Ruvigni's means, have been for ſome time ſent, as well for the plenipotentiaries of Spain, as for thoſe of Lorrain: the firſt of theſe difficulties being only grounded on ſome deficiencies in the form of the ſaid paſſports concerning the ſecurity of the baggage, and the liberty of diſpatching couriers, which were expreſſed in the paſſports formerly given by his moſt Chriſtian majeſty to the plenipotentiaries of this ſtate at Cologn, as well as in thoſe diſpatched by the confederates for your excellencies; I had good hopes to ſee them eaſily ſurmounted by the good offices which his majeſty the king my maſter has already employed on this ſubject at the court of France. And I have endeavoured to ſet theſe matters in a proper light for monſieur Pompone.

plenipotentiaires de cet etat, que pour ceux de leurs alliez. On a trouvé des difficultez icy à ceux que monſieur de Ruvigni m'a fait envoyer depuis quelque tems, tant pour les plenipotentiaires d'Eſpagne que pour ceux de Loraine; mais les premiers n'ayant été fondés que ſur quelques defauts dans le formulaire deſdits paſſeports, touchant la ſeureté du baggage, & liberté de depêcher les couriers, compris ci-devant en ceux que ſa majeſté treschrêtienne a accordé aux plenipotentiaires de cet etat à Cologne, auſſi bien que ceux que les confederez ont fait depecher pour V. Ex. j'ay bien eſperé de les voir facilement ſurmontez par les offices de ſa majeſté le roy mon maître, qui ont été deja employés à la cour de France ſur ce ſujet. Et j'ay tâché de donner à monſieur Pompone les eclairciſſements neceſſaires là-deſſus.

As to the difficulties made about the paſſports for Lorrain, I found them of ſo great importance, that I dared not to intermeddle therein without the expreſs order of the king; and

Pour les difficultez faites ſur ceux de Loraine, je les trouve d'une trop grande importance, pour y oſer ſans les ordres de ſa majeſté y mêler mes ſentimens; &

and therefore I have not communicated to the States General the letter which I received three days ſince from monſieur Pompone on this ſubject: I am in hourly expectation of receiving his majeſty's commands, whereby I may regulate my own conduct herein. In the mean time, I intreat your excellencies to aſſure yourſelves, that it is with the greateſt regret that I ſee this ſtop put to an affair in which the inclination, as well as the honour, of his majeſty is ſo deeply engaged; and to believe, that I will omit no care or pains to promote and facilitate it on this ſide. To theſe ſo important conſiderations I might add, the particular ſatisfaction and pleaſure that I propoſe to myſelf, in being intereſted and concerned in an affair that will bring me into the company and converſation of your excellencies at Nimeguen; where I promiſe myſelf to find yet farther opportunities of giving you proof, how uneaſy theſe hindrances are to me, and with how much eſteem I am, your excellencies moſt humble, and moſt obedient ſervant, &c.

pour çela n'ay pas encore communiqué à meſſieurs les Etats Generaux la lettre que j'ay reçû depuis trois jours de monſieur de Pompone ſur cette matiere, mais j'attend à toute heure les commandements du roy pour regler ma conduite. Cependant je ſupplie V. Ex. de vous aſſurer que c'eſt avec regret extreme que je vois cet accrochment à une affaire, en laquelle l'inclination auſſi bien que l'honneur de ſa majeſté eſt ſi fort engagée; & que je n'épargneray aucune peine & diligence pour la faciliter de ce côte icy. Je pourrois ajouter à ces conſiderations ſi importantes l'interêt particulier que je prens au bonheur & la joye que je me ſuis propoſé en la rencontre & converſation de V. Ex. à Nimegue, où je veux eſperer encore de trouver les occaſions à vous temoigner combien je reſſens ce retardement, & avec combien d'eſtime je ſuis, meſſieurs, de V. E. le très humble, & très obeïſſant ſerviteur.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, Feb. 4, N. S. 1676.

YOU will have found by my two laſt, that I had before received from monſieur Pompone what you have ſince been pleaſed to tell me by yours of the 21ſt, concerning the moſt chriſtian king's anſwer to his majeſty's repreſentations about the paſſports. I have diſcourſed it over this day with the penſioner, who finds no remedy on this ſide, but takes the whole matter for an argument, that France has no deſire at preſent to ſee the congreſs formed, or to enter in earneſt upon the negotiation of a peace. He remarks upon the liberty of couriers, that the Spaniards can write but once a fortnight to Madrid, and that by the common couriers; but that the French themſelves can have no communication, either with Paris or any of their garriſons, without this liberty; and he thinks, they cannot mean any thing ſhould be done at a treaty with theſe circumſtances. He ſaid, it was poſſible that France might inſiſt upon this in favour of Sweden, to whom, as you ſay, Denmark has refuſed the paſſes; but they are yeſterday come, in the form agreed upon, as you will find by the incloſed memorial of that envoy here. For the point of Lorrain, he reaſoned much of the ſtrangeneſs of ſuch a pretenſion; but I remember nothing new, or more than what I repeated in my laſt of monſieur Serinchamps's diſcourſes on that ſubject. As to this laſt, I can make no conjecture how his majeſty is like to ſucceed on the ſide of France, and have no proſpect of any expedient upon this. But as to the two ſmaller difficulties, methinks, it ſhould be eaſy to procure the paſſports from that court in the ſame form with what are given here, if his majeſty owns them to have been concerted, as you know they were, by his order, and by the ſame recommended to

the practice of all the confederates. And, indeed, nothing ſeems more proper than for the mediator to concert one general form of paſſports to be uſed by all parties. I ſhewed thoſe you incloſed in your laſt to the penſioner; upon which he remarked likewiſe, that there was but one ſingle paſſport for all the emperor's plenipotentiaries, whereas there were three for the French; but concluded, that he hoped ſtill all might be adjuſted by his majeſty's ſecond offices towards France upon this matter.

I ſend you incloſed a paper I received from the States, concerning the buſineſs of prince William of Furſtenburgh; and another, concerning the neutrality; which coming juſt now to my hands, I ſend the original papers, though there ſeems ſome defect in a clauſe of the laſt, which leaves the preſcription of the neutral limits wholly to his majeſty, provided they extend not beyond the Waal and Rhine. I ſuppoſe, by my letters from Sir Lionel Jenkins, you will have heard a great deal from him of the neceſſity of enlarging the bounds in reference to the convenience of the miniſters; upon which ſubject I ſhall ſay nothing, but only wiſh, that France would leave this matter ſo far in his majeſty's hands, as to make that compliment concerning the county of Meurs to the prince of Orange, either from that crown, or from his majeſty; his highneſs, I find, thinking it hard that ſo ſmall a thing ſhould be refuſed him, after his majeſty had thought fit to engage himſelf in the propoſal of it on both ſides.

Sir Lionel Jenkins told me, in one yeſterday, of a chicane made him by monſieur Beverning upon the point of firſt viſit, which I doubt not he has given you account of. That very hour I had his letter came to me the preſident of the commiſſioners for the foreign affairs, by order both of the prince and the States, to acquaint me with a letter of monſieur Beverning

verning upon the ſame ſubject, and to deſire me to direct what I would have done upon it. I found by the letter, that monſieur Beverning intended to make no further or more formal viſit to Sir Lionel Jenkins, upon pretence that ſhould be done to us both upon my arrival; but I deſired monſieur Mauregnault, the perſon ſent to me, that orders might go away by laſt night's ordinary, to both their ambaſſadors, to make their viſit together, and in form, to Sir Lionel Jenkins, as ambaſſador-mediator; which the prince told me in the afternoon had been accordingly reſolved on. I am Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, Feb. 11, N. S. 1676.

I RECEIVED a great deal of honour by the teſtimony you were pleaſed to give me in your laſt of the 25th paſt, of the approbation given at the foreign committee to my conduct, in giving no communication here of monſieur Pompone's letter, till I had received orders from his majeſty. I thought this ſo much my duty, that I will confeſs to you, not to have given notice of it to the States, upon what I received from you in your former, though it was in ſubſtance the ſame with your laſt; but bringing me no orders, and only a bare relation from you, I thought fit upon it only to diſcourſe it to the penſioner; ſaying, that he might do the ſame to the States, as a matter he had from me in communication; which he did, leſt I ſhould ſeem to make a ſecret of what they knew here from monſieur Van Beuninghen, and don Pedro de Ronquillo. But upon his majeſty's pleaſure, ſignified to me in your laſt, I have put in a formal memorial, to acquaint the States with it, having taken thoſe words which relate his majeſty's part in it, out of your own letter; and which ſignify the moſt chriſtian king's

anſwer, out of monſieur Pompone's: this I did rather than out of yours, becauſe what was contained in monſieur Pompone's, was certainly that which they intended ſhould be communicated from them to the States, and for that reaſon (as the letter mentions) tranſmitted to me, to ſave the time of conveying it by England. I ſuppoſe ſome little miſtake in the conſtruction of my former letter made you think I intended not ſo much as to anſwer monſieur Pompone's, without orders from England: for you will ſince have found that I did it by the very next poſt; but that it was, by my good fortune, in the very ſame form, as well as ſubſtance, that your laſt inſtructed me; and that I did not only take your particular notice to him of my not having communicated his letter to the States without his majeſty's orders, but again repeated that circumſtance in my anſwer to a letter of the French plenipotentiaries about the ſame time; a copy whereof I ſent you incloſed, together with that of my memorial yeſterday to the States. You will lately have found in my ſecretary's papers, the mention of a concluſion made in the treaty of commerce between Sweden and this State; and yet not long after an accord here entered into with the Dane, of equipping a joint fleet againſt next campaign in the Baltic. I found in my laſt letters from England, the firſt was thought a little myſterious; and, ſince the laſt has relation to the courſe of his majeſty's mediation, I think it will become me to give his majeſty ſome account of the true ſprings in both.

The firſt was a buſineſs that aroſe wholly from the Swedes, and was negotiated at Stockholm, particularly, by monſieur Ehernſteyn. The public intention in it there was, to make ſuch a treaty ſerve for ſome introduction towards another, by which a ſuſpenſion of arms at ſea might follow between that crown and this State. By this means Sweden would, in probability, be able to ſuccour Pomerania next campaign; and this

State

State would not, perhaps, have ſeen it very unwillingly, in caſe matters on this ſide and the diſpoſitions in France had drawn on towards the general peace. The private motions of that treaty ſprung from monſieur Ehernſteyn's deſire to value himſelf by being inſtrumental in reſtoring, at leaſt, the beginnings of ſome good intelligence between his maſter and this State; having himſelf been always averſe from the breach, and now ſeeing the counſels that promoted it ſo much decried in Sweden from the unhappy events. And this was all the myſtery of that treaty.

The States, though they approved the treaty of commerce, yet they confirmed not the private articles confirmed by Sweden in order to a ſuſpenſion of arms by ſea, though I did not obſerve any great averſion towards it; but, on the contrary, a reſolution at leaſt of not arming this next ſummer in the Baltic, though they had been for three months paſt very warmly preſſed to it by the Daniſh miniſters. But when the firſt news came of the defaults in the French paſſports, they began to conclude that France was not at all in earneſt upon the buſineſs of the congreſs, which they gueſſed not more from the point about Lorrain, than from that of couriers; without the liberty whereof, they eſteemed no negotiation could have any effect, and the prejudice would be infinitely greater to France and Sweden in point of intelligence, than to the confederates themſelves.

The States thought this counſel of delaying or breaking the congreſs proceeded from an expectation in France of ſome great deſign, wherein they expected the ſucceſs, either in Naples, or Sicily, or in Poland. And knowing the endeavours of the French miniſter at the Porte, and the other in Poland, to bring about a peace this ſeaſon between the Turk and that crown, they ſuſpected moſt the falling down of the Poles upon the duke of Brandenburgh in the ducal of Pruſſia. The Daniſh and Brandenburgh miniſters here made

a good uſe of this apprehenſion in the States, and prevailed with them to clap up an agreement with Denmark, for arming a joint fleet next ſummer in the Baltic, very much againſt their former reſolution, and wholly to the diſappointment of all that Sweden had propoſed to themſelves by their treaty of commerce.

This I reckon upon as the firſt important effect of the defaults found in the French paſſports; and if the States continue in the ſame opinion of the French indiſpoſition to the treaty, or of their deſigns to bring in the Pole upon the duke of Brandenburgh, they will give in vigorouſly with the confederates, to drive the Swedes wholly out of the empire next ſummer, to which they would otherwiſe not eaſily have been induced.

This leads me neceſſarily to another, which it may be fit likewiſe for his majeſty to know. The expence of this State in the war, joined to the diminution of their trade, ſeems to diſable them any longer from proſecuting it than this campaign; and, indeed, their counſels in it hitherto are chiefly animated by the great ſteadineſs and influence of the prince of Orange. The houſe of Auſtria foreſeeing this, have framed a new ſcheme of taking off from this State all the ſubſidies they pay to the allies, after this campaign, of Spain continuing to pay them their part, and of the allies, eſpecially Denmark, Brandenburgh, and Lunenburgh, contenting themſelves with the other moiety (now paid by the States) upon a general treaty to be entered into by all the confederates for a guaranty of the conqueſt made laſt year, or that ſhall be made this year upon the Swedes in Germany; which they think will be an advantage to the laſt named confederates, and the biſhop of Munſter greater than half of the preſent ſubſidies. And for thoſe to Mentz and Trier, as well as the emperor, Spain will take them wholly upon themſelves, as, indeed, the emperor has not, for this year paſt, at all preſſed the States for theſe payments by

treaty

treaty made due to him. The Spaniſh and Imperial miniſters are pretty confident of bringing this to paſs; and that, upon it, the States will be able to continue the war with eaſe; and if not with the ſame number of troops, and as principals in it, yet at leaſt as acceſſaries, and with a body of about twenty thouſand men in Flanders. Several of the States tell me, they will not conſent to give ſuch a guaranty, foreſeeing it muſt engage them in a long war; and the prince himſelf will not, I believe, give into it, till he ſees the events of next campaign, or the utmoſt that France will inſiſt upon in the treaty. For my own part, I apprehend it as an affair that may go far towards the continuance of a long war, and, conſequently, the ill ſucceſs of his majeſty's mediation, and therefore thought fit to give his majeſty the early advices of it.

Though the king may have had reaſon to ſtop Mr. Skelton's journey at preſent, whoſe errand to the emperor would not, perhaps, have had good grace whilſt France perſiſts in the refuſal of the duke of Lorrain's title, and thereby the paſſport that may bring him to the treaty; yet if his majeſty ſhould have the fortune to ſurmount theſe difficulties about the French paſſports, I do not think he will have reaſon to be diſcouraged in his intended applications to the emperor, upon this State's excuſing themſelves from joining with him in it: for, upon ſome diſcourſe with the Imperial and Spaniſh miniſters here, I find them both abſolutely of opinion (though they profeſs it to be but perſonally their own) that the emperor will certainly give that point of prince William to his majeſty's interceſſion, whenever it is particularly and formally made to him. And both thoſe miniſters have promiſed me to engage all their credit at the court of Vienna towards this ſucceſs upon Mr. Skelton's arrival there, which I thought was an office his majeſty would approve of, though I was not encharged with it.

I have

I have received his majeſty's ratification of the late article agreed upon here, concerning the free trade from enemy's port, which ſhall be exchanged to-morrow, and ſhall be ſent you by the firſt yacht.

I aſk your pardon for the length of this trouble, and remain, your, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Hague, Feb. 11, N. S. 1676.

I WAS extreme glad to find by one from you, which Sir Gabriel Sylvius gave me at his arrival here, that you had ſo good hopes of wearing off that indiſpoſition in which your former had left you; and that you had already begun to uſe your legs, which, I doubt not, will recover themſelves by exerciſe, with the help of the ſeaſon, and thereby reſtore you to the air and entertainments you uſed to be pleaſed with, and the liberty of attending his majeſty's affairs, as well as your own.

I ſuppoſe, monſieur Van Beuninghen never wants diſcourſe ſo much, as for a help of it to introduce that about the pacquet-boats; and, perhaps, he does not think fit to begin one where you are more concerned than his maſters, of how ſmall conſequence ſoever it be; therefore I have not renewed it here; but whenever you make the trial, and find any ſtop from either his want of power or will, to give you the ſatisfaction intended, I ſhall not fail to move it again to the penſioner, and if need be, to the prince, upon the leaſt notice you pleaſe to give me of it.

We will, if you pleaſe, leave off any further mention of what paſſed in our former letters upon occaſion of Sir Gabriel Sylvius's journey thither. I do believe what you tell me, there is no myſtery in it: and yet, whenever we meet, I will tell you very frankly what I thought was once in deſign; which muſt have been

been very injurious to me, though, perhaps, not ſo intended; and will upon it leave you to judge yourſelf, whether I was impoſed upon by thoſe from whom I received the knowledge of it: for of my many weakneſſes, that of my being credulous is none, eſpecially where it is ſo unpleaſant to make me ſuſpect the good intentions of thoſe few whoſe friendſhip I eſteem, and would be glad to deſerve. For the reſt that you are pleaſed to ſay of the intentions he brings over, as to my own particular, they are of more honour to me than I at all pretend to; who ſhall ever live with perſons that bear his majeſty's character, as my fellow-ſervants, whatever difference may be made by thoſe we receive from our maſter, according as he pleaſes to uſe us in order to his better ſervice. I wiſh him, with all my heart, the honour of either finding or raiſing any diſpoſitions here more agreeable to his majeſty's deſires in what concerns the peace, than thoſe I have yet been able to give account of. But I think it more for his majeſty's ſervice to give him a true one that he likes not, than a feigned or diſguiſed one that he likes; which is the way to engage him in meaſures that will fail, and ſometimes in retreats of little honour. Upon this ſubject, I cannot but wiſh monſieur Van Beuninghen had either underſtood his maſters better, or been leſs heard himſelf upon the buſineſs of prince William before Mr. Skelton came over; and that, for the time to come, ſome difference were made between his talk and his memorials, ſince in the latter, I believe, he will be more cautious than in the other.

The prince is out of town, and will continue ſo till Saturday. The congreſs is *accroché* by the exceptions made here from the confederates to the French paſſports for Spain and Lorrain; which you know the detail of as well as I, and, perhaps, by this time, better, in knowing the anſwer of the French court

to

to his majeſty's laſt application. What I write now to Mr. Secretary Williamſon, you will have your part in, either in his hands or the foreign committee; and beyond theſe we have nothing here ſtirs at preſent, but the common reports of monſieur de Ruyter's victory over the French fleet, which I yet ſee no certain grounds for (though ſome appearance) from the advices that are yet come hither. I am your moſt faithful, humble ſervant.

To Mr. Secretary Coventry.

SIR, Hague, Feb. 11, N. S. 1676.

I WAS extreme ſorry to find, by the honour of one from you of the 24th paſt, that your late indiſpoſitions had been ſo frequent and ſo troubleſome as you deſcribe them. I hope you will find the return of your health with that of the ſeaſon, which I very heartily wiſh, for his majeſty's ſake as well as your own. In the mean time, I comfort myſelf with the belief I gather from your letters to my lord Berkley, of which your laſt incloſed the copies, that your illneſs has reached no further than your body, and not at all affected or leſſened the vigour of your conceptions, which have in thoſe letters preſſed the court of France farther than I doubt they will eaſily yield, or can eaſily excuſe. The ſucceſs I muſt expect from England, having given monſieur Pompone no encouragement to continue an immediate commerce between us here; which, I ſuppoſe, he had a mind to upon pretence of gaining time, and might have been welcome to a man that conſidered his maſter or his orders, as monſieur Van Beuninghen does his, in his preſent ambaſſage.

I have given a full account, in my diſpatch to-night to Mr. Secretary Williamſon, of the late treaty of commerce between Sweden and this State; which, I find, you think ſomewhat myſterious: and becauſe I eſteem that,

that, and other particulars in that diſpatch, neceſſary for his majeſty to know, I preſume you will meet it certainly at the foreign committee, and therefore refer you to it.

They are here very full of the belief given them by the laſt Italian letters of a great victory of monſieur de Ruyter over the French fleet, and the extremity of Meſſina, if not relieved. The laſt I have reaſon to believe, from ſome letters I have received, and others of merchants I have ſeen; as likewiſe, that there has been an engagement between the two fleets; but for the ſucceſſes and particulars of it, I do not find any ground of certainty from any advices yet arrived here, or the compariſon of them from ſo many ſeveral places, becauſe they ſeemed all derived from one ſource; which was a felucca come by chance into Naples with the reports of them. In caſe it ſhould be true, it would be of great conſequence, and make ſome change in the preſent ſcene of affairs and diſpoſitions towards a peace.

The prince is out of town for a week a hunting, and is pleaſed to hear you are ſo keen upon that ſport; and ſays, there are two places in England he will be ſure to be at, whenever he ſees England; which are, your houſe at Enfield, and Sheen; though the fruits of one will be too weak a rival with him for the hunting at the other.

I am ever, with very much paſſion and truth, Sir, your moſt obedient, humble ſervant.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, Feb. 18, N. S. 1676.

I AM to acknowledge both yours of the 1ſt and the 4th, which are come to my hands ſince my laſt of the 11th. Your firſt incloſed the Swediſh paſſports, put into your hands by monſieur Sparr; your laſt, the French papers, by monſieur Ruvigni, containing the

the reaſons of the moſt chriſtian king's refuſing thoſe paſſports inſiſted upon here in the paſſports of France. I have communicated both to the penſioner, who, as to the firſt, remarked upon them the opinion of the clauſe for liberty of couriers, and that of the paſſports themſelves expected for the duke of Lorrain among their allies. He concluded, both were done by concert with France; and ſaid, he did not believe they could be accepted in this form; but would acquaint the States with it, and give me their anſwer. He obſerved afterwards the date of them, and finding it old, he told me upon it, that he did not doubt but the court of Sweden had changed their mind upon this matter ſince that time; that by the letters laſt week from Stockholm, monſieur Romph, the States miniſter there, had aſſured them, that the court was reſolved to expedite the paſſes in the very ſame form with that agreed upon by the confederates; and were abſolutely of opinion, that the clauſe for liberty of couriers was neceſſary, and particularly ſo to themſelves. And the penſioner ſeemed to believe that this matter, and the diſpatch of the two plenipotentiaries from Sweden, would ſoon be made, either by a Dutch veſſel from Gottenburgh, or by a frigate to be ſent from hence to that purpoſe.

As to monſieur Ruvigni's paper, he told me, it was a buſineſs of that importance, the congreſs depending wholly upon it, that he would not advance his own opinion without firſt knowing that of his maſters: that an anſwer had been made to my laſt memorial upon this ſubject, which ſhould have been in my hands before this poſt, but conſiſting chiefly in the due acknowledgments of his majeſty's offices, and repeated inſtances to France for removing theſe difficulties, he thought now, that I acquainted him with the ſucceſs, that it would be fit to enlarge it, but promiſed to take care that I ſhould be poſſeſſed of it by next ordinary.

For

For my own part, I will confeſs to you, that I think monſieur Ruvigni's paper a thing as ſtrongly and as well reaſoned, as I have ſeen any; and that I cannot but think they have right in what concerns the point of the couriers, ſince the prejudice to the confederates from that liberty cannot be, in any kind, equal with that of France uſing it ill; and the inſtances of what paſſed at Cologn and Aix la Chapelle are ſo pertinent, that I do not ſee how they can be diſputed; eſpecially upon the offer of free paſſage between Nimeguen and Bruſſels. All that ſticks, in my opinion, is the prejudice that France and Sweden will receive by the want of allowed intercourſe with their miniſters: but of this they are themſelves the beſt judges.

As to the point of Lorrain, I ſhould likewiſe think the paper had reaſon too, if they grounded their title to Lorrain upon conqueſt, which is a very common right in the world, and univerſally allowed, when, at leaſt, confirmed by time. But, in caſe that treaty of 1662 were attended with all thoſe circumſtances which the penſioner, as well as monſieur Serinchamps, have deduced to me upon this occaſion, I doubt whether it will bear ſo much weight. But at this I can offer no judgment without knowing the matter from that ſide as well as this, which I ſhould be very glad to do, that I might, if there be occaſion, be better able to argue it with them here.

By what I can diſcover at firſt by diſcourſes among them upon this ſubject, I am apt to think, that both the prince and the States would be content to leave this matter wholly to be governed by his majeſty, and make him an arbiter in it, as well as a mediator, in caſe France would do the ſame. But I doubt whether they ſit ſo looſe from their allies, as to divide from them in it; or whether the ſeveral miniſters of the confederates here will make ſuch a pace upon ſo important an affair, without new and preciſe orders from

their

their maſters. However, I ſhould be very glad to know, for my government hereafter upon this or the like occaſions, whether his majeſty would be content to have ſuch offers made him, or rather declined, in their firſt riſe? I know the uſe of them might introduce a very great authority to his mediation in the courſe of the treaty, and in points, perhaps, of greater moment than this. But whether his majeſty would willingly charge himſelf with abſolute deciſions, and paſs over the reſpects of diſpleaſing the parties, who might think themſelves aggrieved by them, is what I know not. But, perhaps, it is not unneceſſary for me to have, at leaſt, ſome hint of his majeſty's diſpoſitions in ſuch caſes, if they ſhould fall in my way.

I leave the current news to my ſecretary, as you pleaſe to give me leave; but will add to it what I hear juſt now, that the match will be made in all appearance between the duke of Lorrain and the queen dowager of Poland, Spain having given their conſent to it; and, I believe, it is not without ſome eye upon the difficulties that, they ſay, the preſent king of Poland is like to meet with in his intended coronation. I am ever, Sir, your moſt humble ſervant.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, Feb. 25, N. S. 1676.

I AM to acknowledge the honour of both yours of the 8th and the 11th, ſince my laſt of this day ſe'nnight. I find both refer me to the further notices you expect out of France, concerning the difficulties at preſent depending in the buſineſs of the congreſs; and I can, as yet, give you as little light from hence. The penſioner ſent me excuſes this morning, that the anſwer intended by the States to my laſt memorial, and to the reaſons contained in monſieur Ruvigni's paper, could not yet be ready, by reaſon of monſieur

de

de Lyra's abſence, without whoſe communication, as miniſter to the chief of their allies, they could not agree upon any reſolution which concerned the union in general.

I ſent him the paper put into your hands by the Swediſh ambaſſador, and deſired upon it, that the paſſports of this State might be delivered to the Swediſh miniſter here. The penſioner returned me anſwer, that he would move it to the States; but doubted, that it could not be till the form of paſſports were agreed on both ſides, which ought to be the ſame to all parties. The ſhort of the matter is this: France refuſes the liberty of couriers, becauſe they will not open their country to their enemies. Denmark makes the ſame difficulties, and for the ſame reaſons. Sweden, for the contrary, deſires the liberty of couriers between them and the confederates: but theſe are reſolved to allow nothing to Sweden in this point, but what France ſhall allow to Spain: and they are, for aught I ſee, upon the whole, very indifferent whether the thing be agreed one way or other, ſo it may be general to all the parties.

In the caſe you ſay had been propoſed to you by Sir Lionel Jenkins of what may happen to the domeſticks of the French ambaſſador, if the treaty ſhould not proceed, I ſhould have thought myſelf obliged to protect them (even without receiving his majeſty's orders) to the utmoſt of my credit here; and I queſtion not but that would ſerve ſuch a turn as this, if there were occaſion; and therefore, I think, his majeſty may be at eaſe on that ſide.

I am very well content to have little at this time to trouble you with, either from your own letters, or any thing elſe that paſſes here, having been now for four days confined to my chamber by a very painful illneſs, which has much indiſpoſed me for this kind of exerciſe. I am ever, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR, Hague, Feb. 28, N. S. 1676.

THIS morning I received the honour of yours of the 15th, with an account of his majesty's first thoughts upon mine of the 18th, by which I shall govern myself for the discouraging any propositions of that kind arising here, either in this matter of Lorrain, or others, unless I receive new directions. The common belief here at this present is, that France will not insist so far upon the difficulties raised in the Lorrain passports, as to break the congress upon it; especially since Sweden is resolved to break from them in it. On this side, they make no haste to give me any answer upon the reasons of France represented to them on that subject, pretending still the absence of don Emanuel de Lyra. But yesterday monsieur Serinchamps shewed me a letter from his master, where he said, he was sure he should not be abandoned by the empire nor Spain in this point; and that they would neither be brought to the congress without the allowance of his title, nor to the peace without the restitution of his duchy. There was a great deal in it acknowledging and applauding his majesty's justice in the offices performed upon this occasion towards France; and a great deal more, taxing very sharply the procedure of France in advancing pretensions upon such a treaty, wherein, he said, were *toutes sortes de nullités*; but that he should be sorry to be put upon more large or public deductions of that matter, for the sake of the dead, and not only the late duke, but those ministers of France who were the instruments in that treaty. The reasons alledged in this letter were very short, and upon the same heads with those I sent you formerly from monsieur Serinchamps' representation. He would not give me a copy of the

letter, ſaying, his maſter had ſo ordered him, and only to communicate it to me; becauſe, he ſaid, he would not be *obligé à des repliques en un tems ou les coups d'épée ſeroient plus de ſaiſon que ceux de plume.*

The truth is, the Lorrain, the Brandenburgh, and the Daniſh miniſters, would be well pleaſed to ſee the campaign end before the congreſs begins; and ſo are glad to increaſe all the difficulties lately fallen in. But theſe ſtates are very deſirous to have the congreſs formed, and preſs both the Spaniards and Imperialiſts to ſend their plenipotentiaries to Nimeguen, whether the French come or no, ſince they are aſſured that the Swedes will. They pretend by it to throw the blame of the war openly upon France; but the true ſpring of it is, the hope they have that ſome overtures of peace may ariſe from the accidents of the war in the courſe of the campaign; and that they may be much better improved by his majeſty's mediation, when a congreſs is on foot, than by any private ways of negotiation. For theſe reaſons they have reſolved yeſterday at the committee of ſecret affairs, that a frigate ſhall be ſent away to Gottenburgh, not only to exchange the paſſports with Sweden, but to bring away their plenipotentiaries, who will be ready there, as the Swediſh commiſſary here aſſures them. But this reſolution is taken with the condition of their allies conſenting, to which they are in hopes of inducing them.

The prince coming to me this morning immediately after I received your letter, I told his highneſs what you encharged me from his majeſty, concerning his anſwer to the elector palatine, which the prince was very much pleaſed with; and deſired me, of himſelf, to acquaint both the States and the allies with it, as a mark of his majeſty's juſtice in the mediation; which I ſhall do to-morrow, though I have not yet ſtirred out of my chamber, and write in pain. I am ever, Sir, your, &c.

To the King.

Hague, March 3, N. S. 1676.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

UPON an occaſion given me by my lord treaſurer, in a clauſe of a late letter, mentioning a diſpatch of Sir Gabriel Sylvius hither, I thought fit by his lordſhip's hand to give your majeſty the fulleſt account I could of the prince of Orange's diſpoſitions and intentions in this great conjuncture.

I have ſince found, by diſcourſe with Sir Gabriel Sylvius, that your majeſty thought his highneſs might be made more ſenſible of the uſage he has received, and ought to expect from Spain, in this confederacy. I did not forget, among other things wherein your majeſty inſtructed me, to ſay a great deal to him upon this ſubject. He ſtill anſwered me, that he knew more of this than I could tell him; that it had gone ſo far in what concerned his perſonal intereſts with that crown, as to make him tell the duke de Villa Hermoſa laſt campaign, that he took this manner of treatment from Spain as a great honour to him: for, he was very ſure, at a time wherein the leaſt ſtep he ſhould make awry was of ſo great moment to that crown, they would not uſe him ſo, if they did not think him a man of too much honour to prefer his own reſentments before the public intereſts he was engaged in. And he added upon it, that they knew him, for he ſhould not do it.

Upon another diſcourſe of the houſe of Auſtria's depending ſo much upon his highneſs's own diſpoſitions, rather than thoſe of the States, in the purſuit of their preſent alliances, his highneſs told me a particular I had never heard before; which was, that one part of his oath as Stadtholder was, to take the care of keeping the States to the obſervation of their treaties,

ties, which he was reſolved to do to the beſt of his power.

Laſt Friday his highneſs, coming to me upon an illneſs that kept me in my chamber, told me all that had paſſed between him and Sir Gabriel Sylvius upon the ſubject of the peace; which all ended in this; that your majeſty deſired a good peace, and that his highneſs deſired nothing more than a good one, but not an ill one; which, on the contrary, he would hinder if he could. That all the queſtion was, what was a good peace? and upon that, had deſired of Sir Gabriel Sylvius, as he had before done of me, to know your majeſty's mind, and upon what terms you deſired or thought fit the peace ſhould be made: that Sir Gabriel Sylvius had anſwered, you had given him no commiſſion to give that ſcheme, and would reſerve yourſelf till the treaty. Upon which his highneſs had replied, that then, for his part, he would neither help nor hinder the peace: that it would be made when one of the parties were beaten out of the field, but not till then; unleſs your majeſty would declare to all the parties upon what terms you thought fit and deſired to make it; and, in this caſe, it would be done in a week.

I tell your majeſty this, that for your better light you may compare it with the notes you receive upon this matter from Sir Gabriel Sylvius, and thereby know, whether the prince's diſcourſes are different to different perſons, which I believe they are not, however they may be repreſented. And, I am confident, no reaſonings can remove him from thoſe intentions I have always given your majeſty an account of, unleſs the future events of the war, or new revolutions in the confederacy, ſhould inſpire him with new thoughts, or involve him in new neceſſities.

The prince, in his laſt viſit to me, told me, he believed one great part of Sir Gabriel Sylvius's errand hither was come out the other day. That he had fallen

into diſcourſe of the ill poſture of the Engliſh forces here; the neceſſity of a perſon of quality being at the head of them; and my lord Oſſory's deſire to ſerve him in that charge. That, upon the prince's agreeing in thoſe points, Sir Gabriel Sylvius pulled out a letter, and ſaid, it was one he had thought of writing to my lord Arlington upon that ſubject, if the prince approved it: that he read it to his highneſs, who ſaid, he thought it was well; and that he might ſend it, if he would. The prince told me, he obſerved the paper was ſo worn in the creaſes, that he knew it was a thing brought out of England, and not written here, as Sir Gabriel Sylvius pretended; and believed, it was not only to go to my lord Arlington, but that it came from him too: that he believed it was not a thing your majeſty knew of; and obſerved a clauſe in it, which he thought was put in on purpoſe to ingratiate it to your majeſty, though he had taken no notice of it to Sir Gabriel Sylvius.

I took this occaſion to tell his highneſs, that your majeſty had talked with me, when I was laſt in England, of that point, as of a thing you would be glad of, and that might be provided for by private concert between your majeſty and his highneſs, upon thē concluſion of a treaty you intended of a nearer alliance with this State, immediately after the general peace; which his highneſs, I find, thinks will be the proper time for it; as I remember your majeſty thought too, when you diſcourſed it to me. I did not find any reflections or diſpoſitions in the prince different from what your majeſty has reaſon to deſire them upon this occaſion; and doubt not of ſeeing all other meaſures eaſy between you, in caſe your majeſty can have ſo much credit with France, or ſo much good fortune, as to help him out of this war with ſome honour and ſatisfaction.

Your majeſty will pleaſe to uſe this matter as a piece of confidence from the prince to me; though I

thought

thought it fit to be told your majesty, because I remember how averse you were last summer from suffering my lord Offory to come over during the war; and I thought you might be engaged in what you had no mind to, upon the prince's seeming to press you with a circumstance of a new strain, or else be troubled to refuse what he seemed so much to desire. Whereas the thing has risen wholly in England, and not here, as will be represented to you; so that the matter is in your majesty to do just as you please, without any danger of disobliging the prince, who is but passive in it. And for that circumstance, which, I suppose, intended to value some body or other, by the shew of extraordinary confidence, and to introduce some more private negotiations; it is a fruit that, I doubt, is not yet in season to be handled, nor will before the general peace is made, which must make way for all nearer measures between your majesty and the prince; and I am the more of this opinion, because, I remember, it was absolutely your majesty's when I left you.

I humbly beg your majesty's pardon for this trouble, and your acceptance of that true and passionate devotion wherewith I am, and shall be ever, your majesty's most loyal, and most obedient subject and servant,

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, March 10, N. S. 1676.

SIR,

I Am to acknowledge yours of the 22d, and in it the significations of his majesty's further and more resolved pleasure concerning what might be offered on this side towards his majesty's arbitrage upon differences fallen, or like to fall in, between the parties. And by these orders I shall wholly govern myself in that matter as it occurs.

I received likewise in your inclosure new passports for the Spanish plenipotentiaries, against which I do

not think there will lie any exception; ſo that, if thoſe for Lorrain were as forward, the congreſs would ſoon begin. But upon that point, I ſuppoſe, I may this poſt ſend you the States anſwer to monſieur Ruvigni's paper, which was agreed on at don Emanuel's return; and the penſioner aſſured me this morning, it ſhould be put into my hands before the cloſing of this pacquet.

Yeſterday the prince came to me, and told me, he came from a conference they had with their allies, upon a letter from monſieur Van Beuninghen, with the expedient his majeſty had diſcourſed of, both to him and don Pedro de Ronquillo. His highneſs told me, that for himſelf and the States, they would willingly fall in with whatever his majeſty ſhould propoſe; but, to tell me plainly, there was not one miniſter of any of their allies that liked it in any kind. The Imperialiſts and Spaniards ſaid, modeſtly, at the conference, that it was a thing wholly new, and therefore excuſed themſelves from ſaying any thing to it without orders from their maſters. The Daniſh and Brandenburgh ſaid the ſame; but added, they were ſure their maſters would not conſent to it: that nothing could touch their ſovereignties nearer, than that another prince ſhould give liberty to their enemies to paſs through their countries. But, beſides theſe arguments, his highneſs told me, that they all concluded, that by it France would certainly gain their point, after having publickly laid a claim to Lorrain, and thereupon refuſed to give the ſtyle of duke. I only tell you theſe as the prince's diſcourſes; for not having received any orders to propoſe the matter here, I have neither done it, nor can charge myſelf with giving any anſwer to it from the States: but the penſioner told me this morning, that would be done to-night by letters to monſieur Van Beuninghen. At the ſame time he deſired me from the States, to know from monſieur Sylvercroone, the Swediſh commiſſary here (who has much preſſed

both

both them and me for the diſpatch of their paſſports) whether he deſired the exchange of them ſeparately, and before that of the French paſſports were concluded, or no: for if he did, both the States and their allies were very likely to conſent to it. I deſired to be excuſed from performing this office; for, his majeſty having undertaken the mediation of a general peace, I took myſelf to be encharged with all offices that any way tended towards it; but with none that were aimed at any ſeparate meaſures between the parties; and therefore would not meddle, without his majeſty's orders, in any ſeparate concert or exchange of paſſports between them and Sweden.

The penſioner ſeemed a little ſurprized, but ſaid, he would ſpeak with monſieur Sylvercroone himſelf about it, ſince I did not think it, as the States had done, to be properly the part of a mediator. The thing was ſudden; and this occurred to me, at the preſent, as moſt agreeable to what I conceived of his majeſty's ſcope and general ſenſe in the draught of thoſe inſtructions brought over by Sir Lionel Jenkins. However, I ſhould be glad to know whether it be what his majeſty approves of, that I may have the more light for my future government.

I communicated to the penſioner the commiſſioners paper concerning reviſions, and his majeſty's orders to me upon it. The penſioner told me, he was this night going out of town towards the Skinckſconce, but would communicate it to the States immediately upon his return. In the mean time he would freely tell me his thoughts upon it; which were, that ſince a treaty had been concluded with thoſe words, and ratified by the States, upon aſſurance given them by their ambaſſador, and from you (as he pretended) that the intention was not to have the old way of reviſion altered, and brought before the States; and, though it was a thing contrary to the conſtitutions of

their

their government, yet, ſince his majeſty preſſed them to it, he thought that it ought to be done, rather than break the words of a treaty concluded. That he was likewiſe of opinion, it ſhould be made of as little expence as any other matters of that kind are ſubject to here. But to make it without any expence, as was propoſed, or ſalary, either to the reviſors, or perſons ſummoned from the reſpective admiralties, was a thing wholly contrary to the orders of their State; and they could not be preſſed to change them, when no treaty obliged them to it.

I went to wait upon the prince this morning, upon his journey to Gelderland, being the firſt time I have done it ſince my illneſs. His highneſs's journey, as well as the penſioner's, is chiefly intended for viewing the Skinckſconce (the delivery of it to the States being abſolutely agreed with the duke of Brandenburgh) and for reſolving whether it will be neceſſary to continue this fort, or to build another, and thereby endeavour to change the courſe of the Rhine, which is grown of late to throw ſo much of its water into the Waal, as to ſpoil the channel both of the old Rhine and the Yſſel, which they think is neceſſary to be remedied. Another reaſon of the prince's journey was, an interview agreed with the marquis de Grana at Cleve; but he has been now here three days with the prince, is gone this afternoon to Bruſſels, and, having ſpoke with the duke de Villa Hermoſa, will return hither to meet the prince, when he comes back from his journey, on Saturday or Sunday next. His buſineſs is, to concert the manner of carrying on this campaign on all hands. He has made me two viſits ſince his being in town, diſcourſed much of his maſter's deſires of peace, and would have a declaration of the contrary in France, from the difficulties raiſed by this new pretence to Lorrain; and ſpeaks very broad of their conduct in this matter, as, indeed, all the reſt

of

of the confederates are apt to do upon all occaſions. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, March 17, N. S. 1676.

SINCE my laſt of the 10th I have had nothing to trouble you with from hence; the prince and the penſioner having been both out of town till laſt night. I am ſorry mine was not come to your hands before the diſpatch of yours of the 29th paſt, by which I received orders to propoſe to the States, in his majeſty's name, the expedient that came to them laſt week from monſieur Van Beuninghen, who has, I preſume, before this time given you an account of its reception here; at leaſt, what I writ you from the prince's own diſcourſes will have given you light into that matter. I went to his highneſs this morning, immediately upon receipt of yours, and acquainted him with the orders it brought me. He told me, that I knew beſt what I had to do; but if he might adviſe me, I ſhould defer making the propoſition to the States, till the next pacquet from England; before which his majeſty would find, by the penſioner's anſwer to monſieur Van Beuninghen, what reception that was like to meet with: and for his highneſs's part, he ſhould be ſorry to ſee his majeſty's name engaged, formally, in a matter that would be refuſed. I argued this point as far as I was able, as to the fairneſs and indifferency on all ſides, and prejudice it would bring to none. The prince grounded all the difficulties upon the allies; who, he ſaid, were unanimous in declining it, and ſome with ſharpneſs, though others with coldneſs, but ſuch as looked enough like refuſal; for he had never before, at any of their conferences, obſerved monſieur de Lyra to avoid concluding one way or other; or to refer himſelf to new orders from Madrid, as he did in this.

this. The prince added, that he would not judge what reaſon thoſe miniſters might have, that pretended it would too far touch their prince's ſovereignty; but, he confeſſed, he thought they had reaſon in ſaying, it would be a yielding the point to France, at leaſt, indirectly; and that it might have been done eaſier at firſt, and with leſs prejudice to the duke of Lorrain, before France had pretended a right to that duchy. His highneſs had heard, by this day's letters from France, that the moſt chriſtian king had already conſented to this expedient, and to the liberty of couriers, provided they kept their ſtraight roads. I confeſſed I had heard the ſame this morning by monſieur Sylvercroone's letters from the Swediſh miniſter at Paris; but that I had underſtood the meaning of that court's expedient was, that the other paſſes ſhould be granted reciprocally by the parties, but his majeſty ſhould give thoſe of Lorrain alone, with the French approbation and enforcement of them. His highneſs replied, that could leſs be done than the other; for they were bound by treaty to procure all their allies paſſports in the ſame form with their own; that he believed the States would not part from their treaties; but if they ſhould be inclined to it, he was bound by his oath, as Stadtholder, to keep them to them: and ſo he was ſure he would do, as far as he was able. I told his highneſs, that upon the terms this matter ſtood, for aught I ſaw, the congreſs muſt break; and it was only their parts to conſider and reſolve, whether that imported them more or leſs than theſe punctilios, which would not gain or loſe an inch of ground upon the treaty. The prince replied, it was no punctilio, but a point of right on the one ſide or the other; and that his majeſty ought to judge, whether they had right in demanding the duke of Lorrain's title, or France in refuſing it; that he could not tell whether the congreſs would break or no, which depended

upon

upon France: but there were many here (and he was one of them) that believed they would have yielded this point of Lorrain, in France, if monſieur Van Beuninghen would have been content not to trouble his head about finding out expedients in a matter that was ſo plain; and that by advices out of France he had reaſon to be of this opinion.

This was the ſum of our diſcourſes this morning; upon all which I have reſolved to defer the making of this propoſition to the States, in his majeſty's name, till my next letters, and his majeſty's reſolution, after he is acquainted with the diſpoſitions it will meet with here. But when his majeſty has theſe lights, he will beſt judge how far to engage in it; and upon ſignification of his pleaſure, ſhall immediately be obeyed.

In the courſe of this matter it muſt be obſerved, that ſeveral of the confederates, eſpecially Denmark and Brandenburgh, are glad of any delays to the congreſs till this campaign ends; and ſo improve all incidents towards that end, though without openly owning that diſpoſition. The unhappineſs is, that France has given them an occaſion, which the States join with them in eſteeming unreaſonable, and ſo, I doubt, will not break from them in it; which they would certainly have done, in thoſe of another nature, as they lately did when Denmark made a difficulty of granting the Swediſh paſſports: whereupon the States ordered their miniſter at Copenhagen to let that court know, that, if they ſent not the paſſports hither within ſix weeks, they would ſend thoſe of this State without them; upon which, thoſe of Denmark were immediately diſpatched to their miniſter here. And nothing has contributed more to the States reſolution of ſending a ſhip to Gottenburgh for the Swediſh plenipotentiaries, than the difficulties made by the Daniſh miniſter here about their paſſing by land. In ſhort, this State grows jealous upon the diſcovery of any deſign,

ſign, in any of their allies, to continue the war upon advantages of their own wherein this ſtate has little concernment. And ſuch they eſteem all the pretenſions on foot, except that of Spain, in ſecuring and enlarging the frontier of Flanders. Nor has France any way to break their conſtancy in purſuing the war, but by giving the *tort* to the confederates, of delaying the peace (at leaſt till the fortune of arms make a deciſion between the parties). On the other ſide, the allies find no better ways to animate the States, than by giving the *tort* to France of declining the treaty; which they have made good uſe of upon this difficulty about Lorrain. And, for my part, I am at an end of my proſpect in this matter; and all my preſent hopes of either peace or congreſs will reach no farther than *fata viam invenient*. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, March 20, N. S. 1676.

I AM to acknowledge the honour of one from you of the 3d, with ſeveral reaſons for ſupporting the expedient lately tranſmitted from England upon the difficulties in the Lorrain paſſports. I have made uſe of them in my diſcourſes here, to prepare the way for my propoſing it; if his majeſty continues in that mind, after having received the anſwer given monſieur Van Beuninghen, which was made by a formal reſolution at a conference between the States and their allies; and containing, firſt, the profeſſion of the ſeveral miniſters, that they could conclude nothing in it without new orders from their maſters; and then their own opinion, that it could not be accepted by them: ending in this, that monſieur Van Beuninghen ſhould be written to, for theſe reaſons, to decline the project in the beſt and moſt decent manner he could. The reaſons I urge upon them are anſwered with great modeſty

by

by thoſe of the government here; ſaying, that if the quarrel, and conſequently his majeſty's mediation, lay only between France and them, this, or any elſe that his majeſty propoſed, would be eaſily accepted; but *qui a compagnon a maître*; and ſo laying the difficulty wholly upon their allies, who, it ſeems, are very unanimous in it. Upon what I find here of this nature to diſcourage me from hazarding his majeſty's name farther without new orders, and upon that paragraph of your letter which tells me that all you had ſaid upon that ſubject was but your own reaſonings, and that you had not yet had the occaſion of knowing his majeſty's mind upon it, which you expected to do on Sunday, at the foreign committee; I have yet deferred my propoſal of it formally to the States, in expectation of the Sunday's letters, which are due today, whereas your laſt came but yeſterday to me.

Yeſterday monſieur Sylvercroone, the Swediſh commiſſary, came to me, and gave me the knowledge of what had paſſed between him and the penſioner concerning the Swediſh paſſports, after I had excuſed myſelf wholly from meddling in it. The States ſent one of their deputies to the commiſſary to know whether he would give them, in writing, an aſſurance, that, upon their ſending a ſhip and their paſſports to Gottenburgh, the Swediſh ambaſſadors would come away to Nimeguen. And the aſſurance the commiſſary has given them in writing; and thereupon the penſioner made him confidently hope the thing would be done; and told him, they would have a conference with their allies upon it yeſterday in the afternoon; but, however, he deſired me *d'y donner la main*; and would needs have me underſtand that there was nothing either in the States queſtion, or his anſwer, that made any mention of France, or of any thing in it ſeparate from them. But that he looked upon the difficulties about Lorrain paſſports as like to be eaſily ſur-

mounted,

mounted, and then the French plenipotentiaries would be at the congreſs in three days; whereas theirs had ſo long a journey, that he thought it was fit to loſe no time. I again excuſed myſelf, abſolutely, from making any pace in this matter, after the States had given me reaſon, by the penſioner's diſcourſes, to believe they underſtood it as a meaſure ſeparate from France. He ſaid a great deal to juſtify his own conduct, which I heard coldly, till he would needs know my opinion of it; upon which I told him, I could neither command nor diſapprove it without ſeeing his orders, which, I ſuppoſed, he would not ſhew me; and till he did, I deſired him to be content without any opinion of mine in this caſe. We paſſed afterwards into more general diſcourſes of the war, and the peace; by which I found his great apprehenſions of the ill poſture the Swediſh affairs may fall into this ſummer, by the diviſions of their counſels in Sweden, as well as the ſtrength of their enemies abroad; and that, if France could not help them by fleets or armies, their money could not make them a match for ſo many confederates as they had to deal with: that they had more reaſon to preſs the congreſs than France; one being ſo much upon the loſing, and the other upon the gaining hand: that when they came to it, they would do nothing without France, in caſe they ſhould be there before them; but, he believed, they ſhould uſe their beſt offices towards inducing France to a treaty, which was of ſo great importance to Sweden, that he thought the French might do ſomething for an ally that had ſuffered ſo much for them.

This I take to be the ſecret of this interview, which the miniſters here are fallen into with monſieur Sylvercroone, being grounded upon a likeneſs of intereſts and diſpoſitions towards advancing it, whenever the treaty begins. I hear beſides, from ſome of the miniſters here, that there is a private article in the laſt

treaty

treaty between France and Sweden, by which France has obliged themſelves to ſee the Swedes reſtored to all they might loſe by this war, in caſe of ill ſucceſſes in it; and this, they think here, will make Sweden preſs France the harder upon a peace, the more they grow out of hopes to recover by arms what they have already loſt: which makes this ſtate very deſirous to bring the Swedes to the place of congreſs, and the rather, becauſe they eſteem the two ambaſſadors deſigned from Sweden to be of the party that was no friend to the war.

In the mean time, the Daniſh miniſter here has made a great deal of noiſe upon the penſioner's entering into conference with monſieur Sylvercroone, and upon the States receiving a paper from him; which they refuſed to do from monſieur Ehernſteyn for ſeveral months before he went away, after the war was opened. The conference that was to be held yeſterday upon this matter with all the allies, was put off till this afternoon for want of the Brandenburgh miniſter, who was to be in town this morning. I am not ſure I ſhall know, before the cloſure of this packet, what the reſult will be; but, by what I can make of the diſpoſitions on all ſides, I am apt to believe the thing will be agreed; the Imperial and Spaniſh miniſters falling in with the intentions of the States; and the Danes apprehending to give them too much jealouſy of their deſigns to break, or at leaſt defer the congreſs till this campaign ends. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, March 24, N. S. 1676.

SINCE my laſt of the 20th I have none from you, though a pacquet be come in; and I expected from your laſt on the 3d, to know his majeſty's mind in your next, concerning my formal propoſing

the late expedient, after the knowledge given you of the firſt reception it met with here. I have been ſince endeavouring, all I could, to make better way for it, in caſe his majeſty continue his pleaſure of having it done, notwithſtanding the former diſcouragement. I have ſince talked with ſeveral that are in the councils here, as well as with the penſioner, upon that ſubject, but can gain no ground with any of them. After all my reaſonings with the penſioner, and telling him the orders I had to make the formal propoſition, and deſiring him to give a hand to it, as the only way left to keep up any appearance of the congreſs, he told me, that he could not undertake to ſay what would be the States mind, but he had very good preſumptions from knowing what it had been; for though mine would be, perhaps, a more formal way of propoſing it, yet monſieur Van Beuninghen's was, as he has writ them, from the king's own mouth, and thereupon was conſidered and debated by the States, and with their allies, in the ſame manner that mine would be; and therefore he was confident it could have no other reception. For the States, he ſaid, they would be very glad to receive it, or any other advance towards the treaty; but that no one miniſter of their allies, but had expreſſed a diſlike to it. The emperor's reſident had ſaid, that beſides his maſter, he would engage his head, it would be refuſed by the princes of the empire. The penſioner added, that beſides the delays of new orders, to which they all had recourſe, the thing would be repreſented at the ſeveral courts by the miniſters here, who were all prejudiced againſt it; and I might judge what was to be expected from the impreſſions they were like to give: that it was impoſſible for the States to break from their allies in this matter, having delayed ſo long the treaty at Cologn upon the point of Lorrain, when they were in ſo much worſe condition than now; that

that they had reaſon to hope his majeſty would prevail with France, in a point wherein he had always aſſured monſieur Van Beuninghen there ſhould be no difficulty. He offered to ſend me ſeveral of monſieur Van Beuninghen's letters with that aſſurance; but I told him, I believed eaſily his majeſty did not foreſee it, and was ſurprized with it when it came firſt from France, and ſorry to meet with it. But the caſe was now to find out an expedient, ſince France was unmoveable upon the offices his majeſty had already performed in that court; and that their parts were to conſider, whether the congreſs imported them ſo far as to paſs over ſuch forms as were of no conſequence at all to the ſubſtance of the treaty; or whether they were content the congreſs ſhould abſolutely break upon them. He anſwered me, that if it broke on the French ſide, and upon a point ſo unjuſt, they muſt have patience; that he ſaw very well France would force this ſtate upon the reſolutions of continuing the war, which was both againſt their mind and againſt their intereſt; but if it muſt be ſo, and Spain would find a way to relieve them of the ſubſidies they paid abroad; *nous ferons bien voir à la France, que nous ne ſommes pas encore hors d'haleine.* I tell you his words, becauſe they are of a ſtrain that I had never heard from the penſioner ſince my coming over, all his diſcourſes having uſed to carry a bent to the peace, and an opinion of its neceſſity. But upon this occaſion, and ſome heat it gave him, he told me, they had ordered monſieur Hemſkerke to make the propoſition at Madrid, and he doubted not but it would be accepted if ever the galleons arrived, or they could be perſuaded in Spain to cut off all penſions for three years.

I gave you a hint ſome time ſince of this being upon the anvil among the confederates, but did not imagine it would work up very faſt, becauſe I fore-

ſaw it muſt draw on a guaranty of the laſt conqueſts upon Sweden; but that will not need, if Spain ſhould be able to pay the whole preſent ſubſidies; and I perceive this ſtate hath now a proſpect of other meaſures with Sweden than they thought of at that time.

I have reaſoned upon this expedient likewiſe with the marquis de Grana, upon his return from Bruſſels. He adds one thing more to what I hear againſt it from the reſt; which is, by aſking how his maſter the emperor can leave ſuch a diſcontent at heart of a prince, to whom he hath already intruſted a great part of his forces, and is reſolved to commit the charge of his whole army this year, in caſe any difficulties ſhould happen in count Montecuculi's coming to command it. I believe his journey hitherto hath had effect upon the hopes of the confederates, by the aſſurance he hath given them, that his maſter's army ſhall be in the field and encamped before the 20th of April, and ſtronger than in any of the laſt campaigns. What I believed of the conference among the confederates held at the time of my writing laſt, proved true; they agreed upon ſending their paſſports and a ſhip of this ſtate for the Swediſh plenipotentiaries, though the Daniſh miniſters were brought to it *à reculons*. But I find here, that monſieur Romp, envoy of this ſtate at Stockholm, hath not only aſſured them, that they will ſend their plenipotentiaries away to Nimeguen upon the arrival of the ſhip, but they will come inſtructed to do all they can to procure a ſudden general peace, and if that cannot be compoſed, to make a particular peace for that crown; and he writes them word, that a reſolution of the ſenate is already paſſed to this purpoſe. Though this whole matter paſſeth between the States and monſieur Sylvercroone without any mention of France; and he gives it to me a very good turn, of only haſtening the delays neceſſary to ſo long a journey; and pretending to believe

believe theſe difficulties raiſed by France upon the matter of paſſports, may poſſibly have been occaſioned, becauſe they would not come to the congreſs before the Swedes could be there; yet, I ſee plainly, the States reckon upon the Swedes coming to Nimeguen, though the difficulties with France ſhould continue, and, conſequently, that there will be a congreſs this ſummer, whether the French plenipotentiaries come to it or no. And this I thought fit his majeſty ſhould have early advice of, that he might order his meaſures accordingly, in caſe it ſhould happen, and conſider how far the progreſs of ſuch a matter ſhould be attended and obſerved by his miniſters, and whether with any endeavours, either public or private, either of aſſiſting or oppoſing it.

The emperor's miniſter here hath, in the late conferences among the confederates, made great complaints of Mr. Skelton having received at Norimberg the orders ſent him to make a halt in his journey, had notwithſtanding gone afterwards from thence to Ratiſbone, and reſolved to make his ſtay there, and had fallen into many ſecret conferences with a French gentleman, who is a miniſter of the duke of Bavaria there: that by it he had raiſed great reflections among the miniſters of the emperor and the confederate princes, eſpecially upon obſervation that many of theſe meetings had been in the night, or elſe at places out of town, that ſeemed choſen expreſsly for the ſecrecy of them. The States anſwered at the conference, that they did not think theſe circumſtances of weight to be taken notice of to his majeſty, as monſieur Campricht deſired. However, both the prince and penſioner told me of it, though without pretending to make any complaints; and I told them my own belief, that there could be nothing of this kind by any commiſſion of his majeſty's, and that what was, might

be only perſonal acquaintance and converſation between themſelves.

Mr. Meredith told you laſt week of eight ſhips of war gone out of the Texel, without any noiſe of their preparation or diſpatch. I hear certainly they are twelve or fourteen, and commanded by one Bringiſt (as I remember his name is) who is vice-admiral of Friezland, and a very bold man. I am aſſured of a thouſand land-men aboard; but the whole hath been carried on by the expence of the admiralty without any ſupply from the State; and with ſuch ſecrecy, that I cannot poſſibly learn upon what deſign. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To the King.

Hague, March 27, N. S. 1676.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

I Received by the laſt letter from Mr. Secretary Williamſon the knowledge of a juſtification made him by a Daniſh envoy at London, of the Daniſh envoy's carriage and expreſſions here, upon the propoſal of your majeſty's late expedient tranſmitted by monſieur Van Beuninghen. Beſides what I have written upon this ſubject to Mr. Secretary, I could not but take notice of a proceeding ſo diſingenuous, as to let your majeſty know, that the prince, telling me how that propoſal was received by the allies, added, that one of them ſaid, among other warm things, *Qu'on ne pretendoit pas ſe mettre ſous le tutele du Roy d'Angleterre.* His highneſs ſaid, he would not tell me who it was; and I replied, he needed not, for I knew the ſtyle too well, not to be ſure it was monſieur Meyercroon's; the prince confeſſed it was ſo, but deſired me not to ſpeak of it; I do it now only to your majeſty, and that your majeſty may ſee how far you may rely upon the diſcourſes of ſuch foreign miniſters,

who

who ſay only what they think will pleaſe, inſtead of what they know is true. If your majeſty deſireth to make any farther uſe of this than your own information, I will aſk the prince leave to tell it; if not, I hope your majeſty will manage his highneſs's credit with his allies, and mine with him; and that you will pleaſe to pardon this interruption from, Sir, your majeſty's moſt loyal and moſt obedient ſubject and ſervant.

To Mr. Secretary Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, March 27, N. S. 1676.

BY yours of the 29th paſt, I received orders to propoſe his majeſty's late expedient formally to this ſtate; but upon the prince of Orange's advice, I gave you notice of my deferring it till his majeſty's pleaſure were known, after the account I had given of its reception here upon monſieur Van Beuninghen's tranſmitting it from his majeſty's own mouth, and a formal conference between the States and all their allies upon it. By yours of March the 3d, I received the notice of that accouut being come to your hand, but was referred to the next for knowledge of his majeſty's mind upon it, after the producing it the Sunday following at the foreign committee. The Tueſday's poſt after that brought me nothing at all from you, but the next Friday's poſt being now come in, brought me yours of the 10th current, which ſays not a word more to me upon this whole matter, but that his majeſty expected the States and their allies anſwer upon the point. I thought it my duty, immediately upon receipt of this letter, and conſideration of the former circumſtances, to put in the incloſed memorial with the formal propoſition of it to the States; though I had, in two late ones of mine, given you account both from the prince's and penſioner's, and ſeveral others diſcourſes, what ſucceſs I had reaſon to expect, and, con-

conſequently, why I delayed it till farther orders. I know very well, that the count d'Eſtrades, in his embaſſy here, received twice poſitive orders from the king his maſter to propoſe things in his name to the States, which had been grounded upon monſieur Van Beuninghen's diſcourſes in that court; but the count finding that they would be refuſed here, ſuppreſſed his orders, and ſent his maſter word, that he had done ſo, becauſe he would not expoſe his majeſty's name and honour in a thing wherein he was ſure to be refuſed. I know very well his conduct was both approved, and he received thanks for it from the moſt chriſtian king. I confeſs mine ſhould have been the ſame upon this occaſion, if I had not known my want of credit to ſupport me; and that, in ſuch caſes, it is fit for ſuch a man only to obey, which muſt be my part; and therefore it will be yours to expect it from me, and to conſider how I am inſtructed. I could not yet receive any anſwer to my memorial, becauſe they would be ſure to do nothing in it without a conference with their allies; but ſhall preſs them to it with diligence, and with wiſhes, that I may find myſelf deceived in the meaſures I have taken here, or given from hence in this matter; though I do not remember to have yet failed in thoſe I have hitherto given you in any one point, and ſhould be glad to be put in mind of it if I do.

For thoſe given his majeſty by the foreign miniſters about him, I think you have had ſome experience of late how they are to be relied upon; and, though they may be excuſed, as proceeding from ſo good and ſo important a deſign as I ſuppoſe they have, of making their court well to his majeſty by ſuch advances or compliances as have been lately among them, yet I doubt whether you have reaſon to ground upon them ſo far in matters where his majeſty's ſervice may be concerned.

I told

I told the prince, that don Pedro de Ronquillo had approved of his majeſty's expedient there; upon which his highneſs replied, that it might be ſo; but he was ſure he had written to don Emanuel de Lyra in a very different ſtyle. You now tell me, that the Daniſh envoy there came on purpoſe to you to juſtify their miniſter here, upon his having been repreſented from hence to have oppoſed and argued againſt his majeſty's expedient; whereas he never had expreſſed any diſlike or prejudice to that matter. I deſire you will pleaſe to tell your Daniſh envoy from me (at leaſt if you think fit) that I will leave that matter to be diſputed by monſieur Meyercroon with the prince of Orange and the penſioner Fagel, who both told me very much the contrary, and I own to have written ſo from their mouths; and ſince he brings me into the liſts upon this occaſion, I do not only name my principals, but I queſtion not to find ſo much credit with ſome of the miniſters of the allies here, as to know ſome remarkable words of monſieur Meyercroon's upon this occaſion at the conference, which will be very fit for his majeſty to know, whether he pleaſes to diſcourſe them or no.

I will add but one word more upon this ſubject, which is, that what meaſures I give you of this kind, I have from the prince's and penſioner's diſcourſes, in which I have not yet found myſelf deceived, nor ever known their opinions conteſted by the States here once ſince my coming over, in any matter that concerned peace or war, or any foreign alliances.

On the other ſide, if you doubt of my giving you other lights at any time than they give me, I am content you ſhould ſend any letter of mine over to them by another hand, and know whether I have either deceived, or been deceived in my reports from their diſcourſes with me. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR, Hague, March 31, N. S. 1676.

IN my laſt letter of the 27th, I gave you an account of my having propoſed his majeſty's expedient formally to the States. But having done it after many diſcouragements, in my ſeveral diſcourſes with the prince, penſioner, and other miniſters of this ſtate, as well as their allies, and without any direct orders from his majeſty, after he had received the knowledge of thoſe diſcouragements; I was in ſome pain to judge whether I had done well or no, till I was eaſed of it by yours of the 14th, which brought me his majeſty's poſitive command to that purpoſe. I have yet no anſwer to my memorial, nor can expect it before this poſt goes away, this afternoon being appointed for the conference between the States and their allies upon it. Yeſterday was the conference of the commiſſioners with the prince; who told me, the States continued of the ſame mind they were, which was, that they could not break from their allies in this point, notwithſtanding their deſires to comply with any thing that ſhould be propoſed by his majeſty. He added, that the miniſters of the confederates here would, he believed, make no other anſwer, but that having no power to conclude upon ſuch a point, they would report it to their reſpective principals, and expect their orders.

I told the penſioner, ſince my laſt, the juſtification that had been made you there by monſieur Gioel, of the Daniſh and Brandenburgh miniſters carriage here upon this matter, and what I had written to you upon it, of my leaving monſieur Meyercroon to diſpute that matter with the prince and him. The penſioner replied, that he knew very well he ſhould not be troubled with any ſuch diſpute; for neither monſieur

ſieur Meyercroon nor Blaſpyle would ſay that to him, which they were ſaid to have written into England. That the warmth of monſieur Meyercroon had been greater than any other miniſter's here; and monſieur Blaſpyle had that very morning told him again, that the more he had thought of that expedient, the more he found it impracticable; becauſe not only the form of the paſſports muſt be left to his majeſty, but in caſe of any difficulty, or breach of them, which ſhould occaſion diſputes among the parties, the interpretation of them muſt be left to his majeſty too; nor could it eaſily be found out how the violator of any ſuch paſſports ſhould be puniſhed; which was proper for every prince to do in caſe of his own ſubjects, as it was a right that could not be given up to another.

That you may have one inſtance more, how ingenuouſly you are dealt with by the foreign miniſters with you in this matter; the prince told me, that monſieur Van Beuninghen writ in his laſt letter, that he was encouraged to preſs this matter ſtill by the hopes I gave his majeſty, that it would be accepted here; whereas you know what the ſtyle of my letters has been upon this ſubject, from my very firſt diſcourſes with the prince, nor could they have been true if they had been otherwiſe. Nor ſhall I ever give his majeſty any repreſentations that I do not think to be right and true, till he ſhall pleaſe to tell me, that he had rather be deceived with falſe lights, than be diſpleaſed with true ones.

Upon what you tell me of a reſolution of the States that came by chance to your hands, bearing date the 20th of March, which was the day the prince firſt ſpoke to me of this matter; and that it would have been well that you had received a copy of it earlier from my hands; I will confeſs, I knew ſuch a reſolution was taken, but not at all the words or particulars of it; and that about four or five days after, I

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ſaw a copy of it, and in my next letter ſent you an account of what was in it. But it is not a thing you muſt expect of me to be able to give you copies or accounts of ſuch reſolutions, though you call them reſolutions of the States General; whereas, though they paſs for ſuch, and have the authority of them, yet they are ſo far from being ſo, that many times the States General know nothing of them in three months after they are taken. And though you are pleaſed to ſay, that copy came to your hands by chance, yet, I am ſure, it muſt have come by monſieur Van Beuninghen, or ſome others of the States miniſters in other courts, or elſe by the miniſters of ſome of their allies. And upon this occaſion, it will be fit to inform you of a conſtitution in this ſtate, which, I ſuppoſe, you are not acquainted with, but which is become the chief reſort of the government here.

In the war between his majeſty and this ſtate, begun the year 1665, monſieur de Witt propoſed and procured a commiſſion to be granted by the States General to eight commiſſioners, of which, two Holland, and one of each other province, who were called the commiſſioners of ſecret affairs. Theſe were then choſen of ſuch men who were perfectly in confidence with him. Power was given them by their commiſſion to deliberate, to act, to execute in all matters that were referred to them by the States, with the ſame authority that the States themſelves could do; and yet the liberty of doing it with ſuch ſecrecy, that they were not bound to give any account of what they reſolved to the States, but at ſuch times as they themſelves thought fit. The matters referred to their management were, all that concerned the war, any foreign alliances, the propoſals and even concluſions of treaties, in caſe they were eſteemed neceſſary to be kept ſecret for a time upon particular reaſons of ſtate. All reſolutions taken by theſe commiſſioners were

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ſigned by the deputy, as preſident, who was of the ſame province with the preſident of the States General, who was the only officer that attended theſe commiſſioners in their ſecret deliberations. Theſe reſolutions ſo ſigned were ſent to their generals, admirals, ambaſſadors, and other public miniſters abroad for their inſtructions by which they acted; and were obſerved and obeyed as the reſolutions of the States General, who had, indeed, only the name and form, whilſt theſe commiſſioners had the whole management of peace and war; and the diſpoſal of offices and levies of monies remained (as you know) in the provincial aſſemblies. It was with theſe men I concluded that treaty in 1668, in five days time, which made ſo great a change in the meaſures of Chriſtendom; and monſieur de Witt there told me, that by this inſtitution the government had avoided thoſe two reproaches uſually laid upon commonwealths, of wanting ſecrecy in their counſels, and ſuddenneſs in their executions.

Upon the laſt change of the government here, and the reſtoring of the prince of Orange to the poſt of his anceſtors, this inſtitution of monſieur de Witt was thought fit to be continued, but with this only change, they were firſt to conſult with his highneſs before they paſſed any reſolutions; which, in ſhort, has devolved the whole power and management of affairs upon the prince in conjunction with theſe commiſſioners, of whom the penſioner is one, and hath the influence among the reſt that monſieur de Witt had before. This, as you may imagine, is ſtomached by many in the province and the towns; but however it goes down, and being grown into a piece with the authority of the prince, does not ſeem likely to change, but with the diminution thereof.

Yet the penſioner, in any difficult caſes, ſometimes ſummoneth the miniſters of the twelve chief towns in the province of Holland to conſult with; and upon the

the next aſſembly of the States of Holland uſually gives them an account of all matters that have been acted by the commiſſioners ſince the preceding aſſembly, unleſs they judge the reaſon or neceſſity of ſecrecy to continue ſtill. The penſioner told me, he had laſt week given them an account of all that had paſſed in the difficulties of the paſſports, and eſpecially that of Lorrain; the reſolution of their allies to ſtick to that point of having that duke's ſtyle allowed him; and the opinion of the commiſſioners, that this ſtate was bound by their treaties to adhere to them in that pretence; that the States of Holland had unanimouſly approved of their conduct in this whole matter.

Now the reſolution you mention of the States General, was a reſolution of theſe commiſſioners (who are called ſometimes of the ſecret, and ſometimes of the foreign affairs, which is, indeed, their proper buſineſs ſince the change of the government, the management of the war being left wholly to the prince); nor do I believe the States General have yet any knowledge of that reſolution; nor is it to be had otherwiſe than from the prince, or one of theſe eight commiſſioners, who are ſworn to ſecrecy; or ſome of the ambaſſadors or foreign miniſters of this ſtate, to whom ſuch reſolutions are uſually ſent, to ſome for inſtruction, and for information to others who are in credit with the government. This, I thought, might be very material for his majeſty and miniſters to know, as the main reſort of the preſent government, and by which you may judge where the power lies, how it moveth, and what is often meant by reſolutions of the States General, which is grown a term common to them and to theſe commiſſioners.

I have delivered his majeſty's letters for the emperor and duke of Brandenburgh to their reſpective miniſters here, ſo as you may reckon upon them as gone away by this day's ordinary. The marquis de Grana

is ſtill here detained for theſe two or three laſt days, upon the endeavours of compoſing the pretenſions of the ſeveral confederates to the paſt and future conqueſts in the duchy of Bremen, their diſſenſions having given ſome delay to the beginning of that ſiege.

The States of Holland reſolved this laſt aſſembly upon the building of ſix ſhips, four whereof to be of eighty guns a-piece. I told the prince, I believed they did it for a good countenance, and to make the world believe they were richer than they found themſelves. His highneſs ſmiled, and ſaid, it might be ſo; but, upon France having ſo many ſhips, and of the greateſt rate, he thought they might have reaſon here to look a little more about them; but, for himſelf, he had no part in this reſolution, and would have been glad the money might have been employed this year upon the land-forces; that it was done by the States of Holland, and at the inſtance of the chief trading towns, eſpecially Amſterdam and Rotterdam. I told the prince, they might talk what they would of the French, and their growth at ſea; but whenſoever I ſaw them building ſhips here of that ſize, I ſhould believe it was done with ſome reflections upon us. The prince replied theſe words: "Shall I tell you the "truth? you may be ſure, while the world ſtands, "we will never fall out with England, if we can "help it; but if you will fall out with us whether we "will or no, we ſhould be ſorry to be found unpro-"vided." I ſaid, I believed that would be as little as the other, now his highneſs was where he ſhould be. And ſo the matter ended. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR, Hague, April 3, N. S. 1676.

SINCE my laſt of the 31ſt paſt, I have none from you, and intended not to trouble you this ordinary, had I not been engaged to it by an incident yeſterday, of which it is neceſſary to give his majeſty an account.

In the morning monſieur Sylvercroone came to me, and told me, the ſhip deſigned for Gottenburgh would be ready to ſet ſail to-morrow, and that monſieur Mortagne was to go with the paſſports and the ratification of the late marine treaty. He told me, great talk had been raiſed in England of his preſſing this diſpatch, and juſtified himſelf upon his orders, as well as his intentions, only to ſave time in advancing the congreſs. In the afternoon the greffier Fagel came to me from the States, to deſire me, that I would interchange the Swediſh paſſports and theirs, which were both in my hands; they and the Swediſh miniſters being both agreed upon it. I had recourſe to your letter of March 3, wherein I found theſe words: "that "his majeſty entirely approved my conduct in the "matter of the Swediſh paſſports, and my refuſing to "countenance any ſeparate interchange of them. "That his majeſty's office being one common and ge-"neral mediation, and of one general peace, could "not countenance or ſuffer any ſeparate ſteps in what-"ſoever kind they were made." Upon this, I thought myſelf obliged to refuſe abſolutely to deliver the paſſports of one or the other, unleſs the general interchange of all parties were agreed upon, or I received particular orders from his majeſty. The greffier ſeemed much ſurprized at this anſwer, told me, the intention of this diſpatch was only in order to a general peace, they haſtening the arrival of thoſe miniſters who were

ſartheſt off, and like to find moſt difficulty in coming to the congreſs: that the Swediſh paſſports were ſent hither from the States envoy, and put into my hands by him, the greffier, ſo as they might reaſonably demand them again when they were agreed upon the exchange with the Swediſh miniſters: that I had not made any difficulty of it when the penſioner had ſpoken to me upon the firſt propoſal of their ſending a ſhip; and he ſuppoſed I would not do it now, when it was ready to go. I confeſſed the laſt; but ſaid, I had ſince received the further knowledge of his majeſty's mind in caſes of this nature: that it was true, I had received the paſſports by their hands; but with intention, as I underſtood, to reſerve them for a general interchange: and repeated again, that I could not deliver them without his majeſty's order; but that I would not fail to acquaint him with it by this ordinary. Beſides the words of your letter above-mentioned, I conſidered his majeſty's being now engaged in the offer of the late expedient, which puts the buſineſs of the paſſports into another way: and, upon both theſe circumſtances, I thought it my duty to make this refuſal; though, I find, it will very much break their meaſures taken in this matter, and will be interpreted, or rather accuſed, both by them and the Swediſh miniſters, as a delay of the treaty. I muſt refer myſelf to his majeſty's judgment, whether I have done well or no, and expect his orders either to purſue or amend it.

The conference upon my laſt memorial has been put off till this afternoon, by three long conferences upon the buſineſs of Bremen; which is at length agreed, and the ſiege of Staden will go on.

I ſhall trouble you no farther, but to wiſh you the good feaſts, and to aſſure you of my being, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, April 7, N. S. 1676.

THE penſioner told me this morning, I ſhould be poſſeſſed of the States anſwer to my memorial concerning his majeſty's expedient time enough to ſend it away this ordinary. He added farther, that this anſwer was made by a formal reſolution of the States General themſelves, and not by the commiſſioners of the ſecret affairs. I hear it was reſolved by theſe laſt, at their conference upon it, that, though all the reſt of their allies ſhould conſent to it, yet, by their treaties, they (the States) could not do ſo, if Lorrain refuſed it. The marquis de Grana received letters from the emperor before he left this place, and monſieur Campricht ſince, with orders, as they ſay, poſitively to refuſe it. I am ſorry to have given his majeſty ſo true meaſures of this matter from the very beginning; and ſhould have been glad to find myſelf diſcredited by his majeſty's meeting with ſuch a return upon it, as he was perſwaded to expect by men that ought to have known more of their maſter's mind, than it ſeems they did. But ſince you were pleaſed to tell me, his majeſty's honour was not at all concerned in theſe kind of refuſals, I have all the reaſons that can be to be ſatisfied. Before that, I confeſs, I was of opinion, that it was not ſo in any propoſals which his majeſty only handed from one party to another; but I was very ſolicitous to ſee nothing refuſed that came from his majeſty himſelf, and as his own.

Upon my poſitive refuſal to deliver the Swediſh paſſports, or thoſe of the States for Sweden, without his majeſty's orders, they have not thought fit, it ſeems, either to attend that delay, or to loſe the meaſures altogether which they had taken in that matter; and therefore have diſpatched their ſhip for Gottenburgh

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with new paſſports from the States, and orders to exchange them for new paſſports from that crown.

The count Montecuculi has excuſed himſelf from ſerving this campaign; and monſieur Serinchamps tells me, that orders are already come to the duke of Lorrain to command the Imperial army. The prince ſays, he will go to-morrow night to Bergenopzoom, and ſo to the rendezvous. Whether he will make a ſtep hither again before they march from thence, is uncertain. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, April 14, N. S. 1676.

SINCE my laſt of this day ſe'nnight, I am to acknowledge three of yours; one by a private hand, in purſuance of his majeſty's letter in favour of the Jews detained at Surinam; the others of the 21ſt and 28th paſt. I do not find either of the laſt contains any thing which requires anſwer, farther than to ſay, that I meet with nothing more here of noiſe or complaint concerning Mr. Skelton's ſtay at Ratiſbone: what it may have occaſioned in the empire, monſieur Ducker will, I ſuppoſe, entertain you with ſuddenly, as he did me yeſterday here in his way to the Briel, from whence he deſigned to paſs with this pacquet.

For monſieur Van Beuninghen's laſt memorial, I find it of a different ſtrain from the States anſwer to mine; and confeſs, this was different from what I expected, which was only the allies miniſters referring themſelves to new orders from their maſters. But, I believe, they took a pride in ſhewing the amplenеſs of their powers to conclude matters of the greateſt moment, in whatever concerns the confederacy, without any recourſe to their maſters. Monſieur de Lyra told me the night before the conference, where that anſwer was agreed on, that he had never yet taken any thing

ad referendum ſince he came hither; and that he would not begin now: that he had made a dozen treaties without any orders at all; that he had power to do whatever he thought would be for the ſervice of his maſter, without further inſtruction.

This morning the Brandenburgh miniſter brought me the incloſed for his majeſty; and ſhewing me a copy of it, I told him, that his maſter had treated his majeſty's expedient ſomething better in his letter, than his miniſters had done in their late conferences: he replied, that they had a general order to conform themſelves here with the miniſters of the other allies, in all affairs relating to the confederacy: that they had done ſo in this matter, though their maſter ſat looſer than the reſt in it, having no particular treaty with the duke of Lorrain, as the houſe of Auſtria and this State had. He told me, the young prince of Brandenburgh was now incognito at Amſterdam, but going from thence ſuddenly towards Caſſel, to purſue the match deſigned between him and the young princeſs of Heſſe.

You are pleaſed to ſay, in your letter concerning the Jews at Surinam, that you were informed from the perſon who brought me his majeſty's letter, that I had made ſome difficulty upon it, for want of ſomething more particular from you. He was an ill informer; for what I ſaid to him was, that upon a difference I obſerved between the firſt clauſe of the petition, whereon his majeſty's letter was grounded, ſaying, the Jews complaining were free denizens of England, and a clauſe in the governor of Surinam's anſwer to the commiſſioners proteſt, ſaying, he had hindered no Jews from going that were free denizens of England; I thought it neceſſary for me to know which of thoſe allegations were true; and wondered you had not ſaid a word to me upon this matter in any of your letters, which you uſually did upon the diſpatch of ſuch letters

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to me from his majeſty. He undertook to inform me of the truth in thoſe allegations; and has ſince ſent me word from Amſterdam, that, though they were not all free denizens, yet he was ſure his majeſty's meaning was, to redeem them as if they were. And, I ſuppoſe, his double diligence put him upon troubling you with a letter upon what I ſaid. I ſhall ſoon give you an account of this matter, if the penſioner's abſence for ſome days does not retard this, as well as other buſineſs. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir William Godolphin.

My Lord, Hague, April 14, N. S. 1676.

I HAVE the honour of one from your excellency of the 25th paſt by this ordinary, which gave me an account, with more certainty and particulars, of the rumour we had before concerning the arrival of the Spaniſh gallions. The reflections you make upon it are a true picture of mankind, and the motions that are frequently made in their minds by accidents that touch them, perhaps, no farther than their ears. The effects of this kind reach even to theſe parts, and, I believe, to the very extent of this great confederacy. This place is now as dead as I have ſeen any great town, or ſeat of public buſineſs, the prince being gone laſt week into the field, at leaſt to the firſt rendezvous of his troops near Roſendale, and with him all the company that uſed to fill this place. The diſgrace of the chancellor in Denmark, and the preparations for the ſiege of Staden and Philipſburgh, take up moſt talk here at this time; but will, I ſuppoſe, ſoon give way to the actions now likely to begin ſomething nearer us; the French deſigns upon Ypre, Aire, or Charlemont, or ſome other conſiderable place in Flanders, being like to open a great ſcene there. The

forces of the confederates will certainly be very great, as well as thoſe of the French; and ſeem all to conſpire towards a very active and bloody campaign.

The talk of the congreſs ſeems ſo out of date, that I am concerned for Sir Lionel Jenkins's melancholy poſt at Nimeguen; which ſtill continues in expectation, rather than hopes, of ſome lucky incident that may ſtill revive it. I am ever, with much reſpect and truth, my lord, your excellency's moſt faithful humble ſervant.

To the King.

Hague, April 23, N. S. 1676.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

THE day before the prince of Orange left this place, I attended him at Hounſlerdyke upon his own appointment; and telling me ſeveral times, that he had ſomething to ſay to me before he went into the field, and deſired it might be there, and at ſome leiſure. When we were alone in the garden, he was pleaſed to tell me, I would eaſily believe the inſtances of the State, and of his friends, as well as the condition of his family, muſt needs have put him often upon the thoughts of marrying; but he had been ſtill in hopes, that the concluſion of a peace would have made way for it ſooner than he now thought it was like to do: for, at preſent, he did not ſee when or how that could be brought about, unleſs your majeſty would reſolve upon ſuch conditions, as you ſhould think fit to have it made upon; and ſo propoſe them to the parties, who were otherwiſe too diſtant in their pretenſions to agree eaſily themſelves. That, upon this proſpect, he began to think his marriage could not longer attend upon the motions of the peace, which might be very ſlow and uncertain; and, therefore, he would tell me freely, that he was reſolved, in caſe he returned

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from this campaign, to neglect no time or paces that could be made in the purſuit of it. That for the perſon, I might be ſure his inclinations would lead him into England, though he did not know what diſpoſitions he ſhould meet with there; and while the war laſted, it might, on this ſide, admit of much reflections, both from this State and their allies. That, however, he would not go into the field without writing to your majeſty and to the duke, of what he had ſo much at heart; and begging the permiſſion, that, immediately after the campaign ended, he might go over into England. That he thought this would be neceſſary, both that he might make his own purſuit himſelf, in an affair that ſo nearly concerned him; and that, by aſking leave ſo early, no time might be loſt upon that occaſion when the campaign was over. That he had reaſon to deſire this affair might, at preſent, be managed with all the ſecrecy that could be, and therefore was reſolved to put the letters concerning it into my hands, and deſired my wife might deliver them, both to your majeſty and his royal highneſs; and that he would take care to ſend them to me before he went.

This was the ſum of his highneſs's diſcourſe to me when I took leave of him: and his letters both for your majeſty and the duke, being ſome days after come to my hands, I thought it my duty to ſend them, according to the directions I received from the prince, and ſhall leave your majeſty to know the reſt from his own hand; though, I think, I have not miſtaken any thing of what he ſaid to me upon this occaſion. I ſhall not farther increaſe your majeſty's preſent trouble, than by the humble profeſſions of that perfect devotion wherewith I am, and ſhall be ever, Sir, your majeſty's, &c.

To the Duke of York.

Hague, April 23, N. S. 1676.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

WHEN I took leave of the prince of Orange, at his going to the army, he was pleaſed to tell me the reſolutions he had taken of writing to your highneſs upon an occaſion he had ſo much at heart, and that he would do it before he went into the field. He ſaid, he was reſolved to apply himſelf directly to your highneſs in all that concerned it, and to beg your interceſſion with his majeſty, that he might have leave to go over into England immediately after the campaign ended: that he would likewiſe write to his majeſty at the ſame time, to beg his permiſſion. And becauſe he had reaſon to deſire, that whatever paces he made at preſent, in this point, might be ſecret, he was reſolved to put his letters into my hands; and deſired that my wife, upon her going over, might herſelf deliver them both to his majeſty and your highneſs. I thought it my duty to obſerve theſe directions; and having, by the ſame hand, given his majeſty an account of the manner and circumſtance with which the prince was pleaſed to enter into theſe diſcourſes, I ſhall not preſume to trouble your highneſs with the bare repetition of them, nor with any thing more at preſent, than the humble profeſſions of the devotion and truth wherewith I am always, Sir, your highneſs's, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, May 5, N. S. 1676.

SINCE my laſt of this day ſe'nnight, I am to acknowledge the favour of two from you; the firſt of the 14th paſt, incloſing the articles concluded by Sir John Norborough, with thoſe of Tripoli, very much

much to his majeſty's honour and the advantage of his ſubjects. The ſecond, containing a large and particular deduction of the ſeveral conſiderations had by his majeſty, after his return, upon the States anſwer to my memorial, as well as upon monſieur Van Beuninghen's memorial, concerning the late expedient propoſed by his majeſty, and the diverſity obſerved between them. I hope I have fully comprehended his majeſty's mind in this matter, as well from this laſt, as from the former accounts you have pleaſed to give me of it; and having had the good fortune to make ſome paces perfectly agreeable to it, upon incidents wherein I could not be previouſly inſtructed, I may well aſſure you of my keeping cloſe to it in thoſe where I am. This I conceive to be the chief intention of the lights you have laſt given me; and not that his majeſty intended I ſhould make any repreſentations upon them to the States; but only be prepared to reaſon thoſe matters with them, in caſe any thing ariſes from them here, upon the paper you intended to put into monſieur Van Beuninghen's hands, whereof you pleaſe to promiſe me a copy by the next; and to ſay, what you writ laſt was for my own information; and that monſieur Van Beuninghen had excuſed himſelf for giving that account to his maſters by that ordinary. I have not therefore entered into any diſcourſes of this matter, nor ſhall, without occaſion given me by them here; or, at leaſt, the knowledge of their having received your paper intended monſieur Van Beuninghen; but will only tell you my doubts, from what I obſerve in your laſt letter; that, as he was ſometimes engaged further for his maſters, than he had power to make good to his majeſty; ſo he may have engaged further for his majeſty to them (upon private or common diſcourſes, paſſed from his majeſty to him, upon occaſion of the Lorrain paſſports) than was ever intended, or could, indeed, be ſo, in a caſe

not

not at all then foreſeen. For in all our conferences upon that ſubject they were ever full of the aſſurances given by his majeſty to monſieur Van Beuninghen, and from his own mouth, that there ſhould be no difficulty in the paſſports for Lorrain. But their induction I always thought fitter for Leyden than the Hague: that it was all one to have no paſſports granted, as not to have them granted in due form; whereas, what was the due form happened to be a thing wholly in diſpute. But the bottom of all this, I ſuppoſe, is, that the parties are not yet weary enough of the war, to uſe any compliances towards the forming of a congreſs, whoſe motions muſt depend upon that of the campaign, while it laſts. So that, for aught I ſee, this knot is of thoſe that muſt be cut through, and cannot be untied.

I took care to ſatisfy the emperor's miniſter here about Mr. Skelton's conduct, both from what you and he writ me upon that ſubject; and this miniſter took as much care to have me believe, there was nothing of his own in what had paſſed; but that he had made the complaint here, formally, to the States, as well as the other confederate miniſters, by the expreſs commands of the emperor himſelf. I think we are both ſatisfied in the matter; ſince I cannot blame any miniſter's conduct, which is by his maſter's order: and, I ſuppoſe, there is nothing likely to ariſe further upon this occaſion.

I ſent yeſterday the States paſſes to the domeſtics of the French ambaſſadors at Nimeguen, for their return to Charleville, upon a letter I received from the ambaſſadors themſelves to that purpoſe; which I take for no very good ſign as to the congreſs: though they aſſured me it was only *une affaire domeſtique*, and they regarded nothing more than their own conveniences during their ſtay where they were, or in order to their journey by land to Nimeguen. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR, Hague, May 11, N. S. 1676.

LAST night, about ten o'clock, arrived here the expreſs you were pleaſed to ſend away with the Lorrain paſſport, incloſed in yours of the 27th paſt, which I received with great ſenſe of ſo happy ſucceſs in an affair by which his majeſty will receive no leſs honour than ſatisfaction, and whereof I have now, for ſome time, ſo much deſpaired. I thought to have detained the expreſs till I had ſpoken to the penſioner upon it; but the maſter of the veſſel that brought him preſſes ſo much his diſpatch, and the penſioner having excuſed receiving me this morning at his own houſe, upon the aſſurance of ſeeing me at mine; I doubted his hour, after the aſſembly riſes, might be too late for the other's impatience; and therefore reſolved to let them make what haſte they pleaſed away, with this acknowledgment of having received their diſpatch, and with the incloſure of the memorial I have drawn up, and reſolve this morning to put in upon it. The joy, as well as ſurprize, will be here as great as can agree with the anxieties they are in at preſent, upon the certain news arrived yeſterday from their army of the prince's beginning to march on the 7th evening, with reſolution to attempt the raiſing of the ſiege of Bouchain, either by attacking the French camp at Kievrain, or that before Bouchain; which may very well produce ſome deciſive action. I now ſee no farther difficulty in the forming of the congreſs, nor delay, beſides the diſtance of ways; unleſs ſome may be occaſioned by the paſſports of the allies running in the firſt propoſed form, with liberty of couriers, which, though France hath, in a manner, conſented to, yet their paſſports in my hands being wholly without the mention of it, I know not yet whether the miniſters

of

of the allies will raiſe any difficulty upon exchanging their larger paſſports for thoſe of France, that are, in that particular, more reſtrained. But I hope to overcome this difficulty by the *penchant* of this State to ſee the congreſs formed; and by propoſing, in caſe they make the difficulty, that the exchange however may be made, though with reſerve of that clauſe not being of force unleſs France ſhall conſent to the ſame liberty for the confederates.

Whatever may further occur between this and to-morrow night, ſhall go in courſe by the ordinary, ſo as I ſhall not lengthen this by any thing that was to make up that diſpatch, but only aſſure you of my being your, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, May 12, N. S. 1676.

I AM to acknowledge the favour of two from you by the ordinary of the 25th and 28th paſt. The firſt brought my ſeveral incloſed copies, and with them a letter of his majeſty's to the emperor, which I have put into his miniſter's hand, and went away by the ordinary of this morning.

Monſieur Van Beuninghen kept his word with you, and writ not over hither the ſum of your conference with him, till the poſt after that which brought it me from your hands: nor did the penſioner enter very far with me upon it; only excuſing the ſignification of the word *Juger*, which they meant only for the expreſſion of his majeſty's opinion; and profeſſing to be ſorry for any offence his majeſty had taken at it. He ſaid he was unwilling any way ſhould be given to complaints on that ſide; and that I was witneſs, how little he had troubled me with any, and how he had ſtopped ſome from the miniſters of the allies here: that otherwiſe they might have reaſon to make ſome re-

flections

ſections upon our conduct of late in England; beſides what they had been forced to take notice of by monſieur Van Beuninghen, of his majeſty's giving leave to raiſe a new regiment in Scotland for the French ſervice, contrary to the expreſs article of the laſt treaty, whatever might be ſaid for recruits of the old. But the negotiations of ſeveral perſons going abroad with characters from his majeſty troubled him yet more, though the States had not thought fit to complain of them. I told him, I thought they did very wiſely, conſidering how little ground ſome of thoſe reports were found to have. Upon which he replied, that himſelf had read a letter from the princeſs of Courland, wherein ſhe ſays, that de Croſs (who, it ſeems, had been formerly a ſervant to the prince her huſband) had writ him a letter, upon his coming to Copenhagen, wherein he told him, that he came thither with a commiſſion, and inſtructions, from his majeſty, to negotiate a ſeparate peace between that crown and Sweden. I excuſed myſelf from believing, that either his majeſty would enter into any ſeparate mediation, or, if he did, that he would chooſe a perſon for it, who would tell his commiſſion where it was not neceſſary. And ſo his diſcourſe ended.

On Saturday laſt monſieur Blaſpyle came to me, and told me, he had certain advice of ſix ſhips equipping at Rochel, with four men of war to convoy them, being laden with corn and other neceſſaries for the relief of the Swediſh places either in Bremen or Pomerania; and that their intention was to go firſt into England, and there get paſſes from his majeſty. That, though he was confident his majeſty would do nothing contrary to the office of a true and impartial mediator, yet he deſired me that I would give his miniſters notice of this pretenſion of theſe French ſhips, which they ſeemed to believe themſelves ſecure of ſucceeding in;

and

and which would be directly againſt the intereſts of the elector his maſter.

Since the diſpatch of your expreſs yeſterday, with the anſwer of what he brought me from you of the 27th, incloſing the Lorrain paſſports, the States have had a conference with the miniſters of the allies; and, as I conjectured at firſt, ſome difficulty was made about the exchange of paſſports, upon the difference in them, in relation to the liberty of couriers. But the penſioner ſends me word this afternoon, that he doubts not they ſhall end that matter in a day or two, by agreeing upon ſome act or declaration, which ſhall leave France to the choice of either giving it, or wanting it; and ſo leave it one way or other, equal to both ſides. That he doubted not, they ſhould hereby be ready to make the exchange of all paſſports ſome day this week. And that the States had written a letter of thanks to his majeſty upon this occaſion, which ſhould be in my hands to go with this ordinary.

I find you reckon upon my having been poſſeſſed of all the paſſports; but, though I have been ſo long of thoſe from France and Sweden, and of thoſe from this State for both thoſe crowns, yet I never was of any from the reſt of the confederates; though the reſpective miniſters have taken occaſion to let me know, they had them in their hands, and were ready to deliver them, when thoſe of all the confederates were come.

The next pace, I think, will be to agree upon the declaration of the neutral country which is left by the confederates to his majeſty, provided it be between the two rivers. For my part, I ſee no certain bound can be given it, unleſs by thoſe rivers and the Foſſa Mariana. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR, Hague, May 19, N. S. 1676.

BY the laſt poſt I had nothing worth your trouble, farther than the notice of what I received from the penſioner, as the pacquet was cloſing; that he hoped the exchange of the paſſports might be made the next day, or on Monday at fartheſt. I heard no more from him till Sunday night; but finding a conference had been appointed for eight o'clock on Monday morning upon that ſubject, between the States and their allies, I thought fit to ſpeak with the penſioner late on Sunday night, and endeavour to know of him, whether there were any new occaſion of this delay in a matter that I thought deſerved a better and ſpeedier reception. He told me, the true reaſon was, that the emperor's miniſter had not yet the paſſports in his hands, but that they were at Cologn, from whence he was certain to receive them that night; and that, after the next conference, the deputies of the States would certainly attend me with the neceſſary paſſports, and make the exchange.

I remember very well, that ſome months ſince the emperor's miniſter affirmed to be then poſſeſſed of all his paſſports; which I took notice of to the penſioner, the delay being ſhort, and then ſo near an end. But I have ſince reaſon to believe, the diſpatch he expected was from Duſſeldorp rather than Cologn, and concerted by him with the duke of Nieuburg, in order to the producing ſuch a reſolution as I received yeſterday from the States. The penſioner had before obſerved to me ſome difference between the paſſports of France and thoſe of the confederates, and the neceſſity of their inſiſting upon their being equal, which I undertake for. One was, that the word *repaſſer* was omitted in the French. Another was, that the clauſe for liberty

berty of couriers was ſo likewiſe; whereas both were inſerted in thoſe of the confederates. And the third was, that there was but one French paſſport for any of the confederates, except only for Spain; whereas thoſe of the confederates were, three for the French and Swediſh miniſters; and ſo many would be neceſſary for each of the confederates, ſince they might think fit to ſend ſo many miniſters, and either from ſeveral places, or at ſeveral times, ſo as not to be capable of uſing one paſſport. In all theſe matters we found nothing of conſequence to hinder the exchange of paſſports, and diſpatch of them to the reſpective miniſters. Since, on the one ſide, I made no difficuly of engaging his majeſty's endeavours to procure the ſupplement of theſe defects on the French ſide: and, on the other part, the penſioner ſaid, they would declare, that in caſe that was refuſed, their paſſports ſhould reach no farther than thoſe of France; which I did not conteſt.

Yeſterday, being Monday, afternoon, two of the States deputies came to me, and told me, they came from their maſters, in the firſt place, to repeat their thanks, and thoſe of their allies, to his majeſty, for the late offices performed in this matter of the Lorrain paſſports. In the next, to make the exchange of them, having brought with them thoſe of their confederates; and to put into my hands, at the ſame time, the reſolution taken by the States and their allies, declaring the conditions upon which the exchange was to be made. They excuſed the reſolution's not being yet tranſlated into French by reaſon of the haſte they made to bring it me after it was agreed on; but did undertake to read it me in French, out of the Dutch original. The firſt part contained thoſe three particulars mentioned, and in the ſame manner the penſioner underſtood they ſhould paſs: but after that came a clauſe, that whereas the duke of Nieuburg was lately

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entered into the confederacy; that his majesty was desired likewise to procure passports for his ministers, and an assurance from the king of France, of granting passports to whatsoever prince or state should hereafter enter into their alliance: without both which the present passports should be of no force or effect. And with these conditions they offered to make the exchange of passports.

I was, I confess, very much surprized to meet with a clause so little expected, and, as I thought, so very impertinent; and thereupon told them, without farther deliberation, my own thoughts upon it. That for the small difference in the form of passports, I thought there would be no difficulty, and questioned not his majesty's instances and success upon them. That for the last, I esteemed it a very unfit return to so much pains as his majesty had taken in the pursuit of this affair, and the diligence he had used, in the dispatch of the Lorrain passports by express, immediately after he had, with so much difficulty, obtained them. That they had delayed the exchange of them now for eight days, and at length offered it with conditions that I esteemed wholly elusory, and upon which, for my own part, I could not think fit to make the exchange; not knowing what other advantage would be gained by it, than to keep the passports of the confederates as long in my cabinet, as I had already done those of France and Sweden. That upon the first offer of his majesty's mediation, it was long before all the confederates had accepted it; and long before they afterwards agreed to a place of treaty, proposed by his majesty, though in their own territories. That in December last they signified to his majesty the names of all their confederates, for whom they desired passports, and upon the dispatch whereof they then assured the delivery of theirs, and those of the confederates, without farther condition. That an

incident having fallen out upon the ſtyle of the duke of Lorrain, his majeſty had, for ſeveral months, laboured for the removal of it, and, at length, obtained it, with great difficulty. That when he now expected the immediate change of the paſſports, and conſequently the ſudden forming of the congreſs, wherein his honour was ſo far engaged, they clogged it with two new conditions; of which I thought the firſt out of form and out of time; and the other wholly out of reaſon and practice. That for the duke of Nieuburg, I knew he was a prince for whom his majeſty had not only a particular eſteem, but kindneſs too; and, if either before or after the exchange of paſſports, they ſhould have ſignified that new alliance to his majeſty, and their deſires of paſſports for him, I believed his majeſty would employ the ſame endeavours for his miniſters, as for thoſe of the other allies: but hitherto his majeſty had received no notice of his entering into the confederacy, unleſs they intended he ſhould have it from gazettes; nor had the duke of Nieuburg either received, ſince the offers of his majeſty's mediation, or, that I know of, ſignified his acceptation of it by himſelf, or the States, as all other their allies had done; and, conſequently, it was out of form, to deſire his majeſty's offices in this matter before thoſe circumſtances were paſſed; and it was very much out of time, to deſire them juſt upon the exchange of the paſſports, and with condition of their being void without the ſucceſs of them, ſince the exchange was intended for the ſudden meeting of the plenipotentiaries at the place of congreſs. And this condition muſt of neceſſity delay it, till both his majeſty's reſolution were known in mediating a new propoſal, and that of France in granting it; in which I was not yet informed of either of their intentions, nor could be, till a return from both courts. That for the other part of the condition, which was an aſſurance

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from France of granting paſſports to all princes, or ſtates, that ſhould hereafter enter into their confederacy; though they made it ſeem plauſible, by offering the reciprocal to France and Sweden, from the confederates, yet I thought it wholly impertinent and impracticable. And though I could not pretend to know whether either his majeſty would think fit to deſire it, or the moſt chriſtian king to agree to it, yet I was ſure I would not be of the opinion for either of them to be done; or for any paſſports to be ſolicited by one, or given by the other, but for princes and ſtates that were named at the deſiring of them. That the States might deſire paſſports for the kings of Macaſſar and Ceylon, who were already their allies, or for the duke of Muſcovy, who, I hear, was invited into the confederacy of the preſent war. That I knew not, whether his majeſty would trouble himſelf with a mediation in their behalfs. That to go nearer home, ſome prince in the alliance of France might change his party, and enter into theirs; and I did not know, whether in ſuch a caſe, the moſt chriſtian king would think fit to admit ſuch an ally into the treaty, or whether his majeſty would ſolicit it: nor did I conceive either could be reſolved without the conſidering of circumſtances, as they ſhould appear when the caſe came in queſtion. That, in the mean time, to make the validity of the preſent paſſports depend upon a future condition, which could not be ſecured before-hand, were to make the congreſs wholly deſperate; for no miniſters, either from France or Sweden, could think fit to come to Nimeguen, when, in caſe at any time during their reſidence there, upon the States deſiring paſſports for a new ally, which France (upon circumſtances that might attend it) ſhould have reaſon to refuſe, the preſent paſſports were to become immediately void; and not only thereupon the negotiations, if begun, or never ſo much advanced, muſt immediately

ceaſe; but the French and Swediſh miniſters muſt remain in their enemies country, without any ſafety to their very perſons; ſince that could be grounded only upon their paſſports, which would remain in danger of becoming invalid upon any ſuch accident. That, for my own part, I took this to be a ſtrain of ſome of the allies, which were enemies of peace, and ſo employed their wits to find out pretences of delaying, or breaking the congreſs. That however, ſince they brought it me as a reſolution of the States, I deſired it in French (as all uſed to be that paſſed between his majeſty and this State) though the uſe I intended to make of it was not ſo much to ſend it to his majeſty, as to draw up immediately an anſwer to it of my own, containing the preſent remarks I had made to them upon it, and what others ſhould occur to me upon ſecond thoughts, which I would not only ſend to the States, but at the ſame time print and publiſh it, that all their ſubjects might ſee upon what points they and their confederates turned the affairs of the peace: in which I knew very well how the people of theſe provinces were concerned, whether the government or their allies were ſo or no.

Upon theſe repreſentations the deputies of the States were ſo far moved, that, inſtead of replying or maintaining the reſolution they had brought, they told me, what I had ſaid was of ſo much weight, that they thought themſelves obliged to repreſent it to the States, before they delivered me the reſolution. That they deſired me therefore to excuſe them for the delivery of it, till next day; and, in the mean time, were very glad to underſtand my opinion upon it, which they would report to their maſters that very evening, and doubted not of having another conference upon it this morning with their allies.

At their going away, after all this had paſſed, one of them told me privately, *Que j'avois la plus grande*

raiſon

raiſon du monde: that their compliance with ſome of their allies had engaged them in this matter, upon a letter from the duke of Nieuburg, that came yeſterday, deſiring no exchange might be made of the paſſports without ſecuring his according to his treaty.

That which I underſtood to be at the bottom of this whole matter is the intereſt of the emperor, not only to ſecure the paſſports for the duke of Nieuburg, who is at preſent entered into the alliance, but likewiſe for the duke of Bavaria, who, they believe, will alſo be ſuddenly engaged, and chiefly by the offices of the duke of Nieuburg to that purpoſe, who, being of the ſame family, has great credit and influence in the court of Bavaria. And they believe neither of them will be engaged without the ſame condition, of being equally conſidered in all treaties, and comprehended in any peace, with the reſt of the confederates already named.

I know not what I ſhall receive from the States this evening, and before the cloſure of this pacquet; but in the mean time, I thought it neceſſary to give his majeſty this account of what has hitherto paſſed: and am of opinion, the States will not be able to bear the noiſe of this matter, if they perſiſt in it; but that, in ſuch a caſe, they will be forced to conſider the humour of their people, as well as the intereſt of their allies.

Thus far I had written by four o'clock this afternoon; ſince which time the deputies of the States have again been with me, and told me, that having repreſented to the States the reaſon I gave them yeſterday againſt the reſolution they had then brought me, they had ſince had a conference with their allies upon them; and that they all agreed, that to expreſs the general and ſincere intentions they all had towards a peace, and withal, the great regard they had for the opinion of

an ambaſſador of his majeſty's, in what he thought concerned both the honour and deſires of his majeſty in the mediation of the peace, they would remove thoſe difficulties I had obſerved like to ariſe upon yeſterday's reſolution; and to that end had altered the reſolution itſelf, and brought me in a form, which they doubted not would agree with his majeſty's intentions; and had given it the ſame date, to the end there might be no appearance of the former reſolution: and that in purſuit of it they were ready to exchange the paſſports without any ſuch conditions as were yeſterday mentioned.

I read the reſolution (which I ſend you incloſed) and found nothing elſe to reflect on, but the laſt clauſe; and aſked them, whether they underſtood it to refer only to the precedent period, concerning the equality pretended in the paſſports; or, likewiſe, to that former clauſe about the duke of Nieuburg. They both affirmed, that it was meant only to refer to that immediately preceding, and not to what concerned the duke of Nieuburg. Upon this we proceeded to the exchange of paſſports, in which we found ſeveral points a little defective; as that four of the German princes had not yet ſent their paſſports; nor could they aſſure me when they ſhould have them. But the chief was, that thoſe of the emperor were not yet here; but they affirmed, that they were every day expected, and that they had been here ſome months ſince, but, upon thoſe of France being ſhort of the form agreed on, eſpecially in the clauſe about couriers, the emperor's miniſter had ſent for new ones in the ſame form; and was aſſured they were at Cologn, where he had likewiſe ſent the old ones, ſo as to be now poſſeſſed of none.

In the next place, there were no paſſports from Spain, no more than from the emperor, for the biſhop of Straſburg; but theſe they aſſured me were con-

conſented to by both, and undertook to put them into my hands. In the next place, becauſe France had ſent but one paſſport for each of the confederates beſides Spain, they had each of them ſent but one for France; and the ſame happened likewiſe in thoſe of Sweden. But the exchange of our paſſports having begun by thoſe of France and Spain and this State, and ſome of theſe difficulties not appearing till that was performed, which ſeemed the moſt material, we concluded to go on in the exchange, as far as we were provided; and thereupon proceeded as far as you will ſee marked in the incloſed liſt. Thoſe from France and Sweden to the emperor, and the four German princes who have not yet ſent their paſſports, I have retained ſtill in my hands till theirs arrive. I ſhall expect thoſe of the emperor till Friday; by which time the deputies aſſure me they will be here. If they come not by that time, I ſhall be ſure, however, to diſpatch away all thoſe I am already poſſeſſed of to the French ambaſſadors, by the conveyance you preſcribe me of an expreſs to Maeſtricht; and deliver thoſe for Sweden to monſieur Sylvercroon, the commiſſary of that crown; excepting one you deſire for monſieur Spar, which I ſhall ſend in blank to your hands, being already poſſeſſed of three from the States; and reſolving to endeavour to get as many by that time from Spain and Denmark, if thoſe miniſters have ſo many in their hands.

For the biſhop of Straſburg I formerly ſent you one from this State; and ſhall follow it with the reſt as ſoon as they arrive. In the mean time, you will pleaſe to procure three paſſports for the emperor, for I have yet but one; and that may, for aught I know, be the reaſon of the emperor's miniſter's diſowning to have any paſſports; being a man ſomething punctilious, and having deſired me, a week ago, to procure them, not without complaint of ſuch a neglect from France;

but without any thing that looked like his wanting thoſe of his maſter.

I hope his majeſty will approve the progreſs I have made in this matter, though it be not yet complete; which has fallen out, chiefly, by the number of paſſports failing on the French and Swediſh part. I cannot but be glad to find it upon the terms it now is, conſidering where it was yeſterday; and did not expect ſo abſolute a change of the reſolution in ſo little time, having laſt night found monſieur Serinchamps very peremptory in defending that reſolution of the States. But this morning the Hanover reſident told my ſecretary, that there had been very warm debates upon it between the States and ſome of their allies, who perſiſted ſo far, that the penſioner aſked them: *Et que pretendez-vous donc, meſſieurs, de nous faire dechirer par la canaille?* but theſe paſſages of their private conferences you will pleaſe may not be public, becauſe that may hinder me another time from knowing them, which is ſometimes neceſſary to acquaint me with the ſprings from which the public motions of ſuch affairs ariſe.

I have reaſon to think you tired out with this length, and am very ſenſible of being ſo myſelf; which leaves me only to acknowledge yours of the fifth, not finding any thing requires farther return than what I have already ſaid about the paſſports you mention from monſieur Spar, and the biſhop of Straſburg. I am Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, May 22, N. S. 1676.

BY laſt poſt I gave you an account of the exchange of paſſports being made late that night: I delayed the ſending them away to Maeſtricht till this morning, both in expectation of the emperor's paſſes by

by laſt ordinary from Germany, and likewiſe in hopes of obtaining two paſſes more from each of the confederate miniſters by the offices promiſed me by the States deputies to that purpoſe. Yeſterday one of them ſent me word, they had endeavoured it in vain, and they would give no more than one, though they had more in their hands, till they receive as many from France as was deſired of them.

This morning the emperor's miniſter ſent me word his paſſports were not come by the laſt night's ordinary; and that the old ones which he expected from Cologn, had been in monſieur Fiſher's hand, who was ſince gone up into Germany; ſo that he ſooner expected the new ones from Vienna. Hereupon I made my diſpatch ready to be ſent away to Maeſtricht by noon; when, juſt upon the parting of it, I received a letter from monſieur Pompone, deſiring me, that inſtead of the paſſport for the duke de Vitry, there might be one for the mareſchal d'Eſtrades, whom the moſt chriſtian king had appointed his plenipotentiary in place of that duke, upon the continuance of his indiſpoſition. I was forced hereupon to open my pacquet again, and ſent the duke of Vitry's paſſport to the greffier, with this deſire; but he returned me anſwer, that the States were up, and that it could not poſſibly be done till their ſitting again to-morrow morning; ſo that it will be to-morrow noon before my pacquet with the paſſports can go away.

If you think it neceſſary for the French ambaſſadors to have three ſeveral paſſports from each of the confederates, you will pleaſe to deſire the ſame number for each of them from France, which the Swediſh commiſſary here has promiſed to do from that crown; but eſpecially for the emperor, who has, it ſeems, already named three ambaſſadors for the congreſs. You will pleaſe likewiſe to preſs the declaration of the neutral country, which the confederates, on their part, have

have left wholly to his majesty to extend as he pleases, provided it be between the two rivers. If his majesty pleases to pitch upon any certain line to the east from one river to another, the thing is done: but, for my part, I cannot see how any other can do it, but the Fossa Mariana, which is an open canal, and so will leave no dispute; besides, it takes in Cleve, where, for aught I hear, the princes who have accepted the pope's mediation design the residence of that minister, or in some village near it.

I send you inclosed a passport of the States for monsieur Spar, which your last desired; though he writes word to monsieur Sylvercroon, that he goes not to the congress, but into Sweden. I send you likewise a passport from the duke of Lorrain for the bishop of Strasburg's minister; which is all yet come to my hands: that of the States you have long since; and monsieur de Lyra has promised me one from Spain with the first; as the emperor's resident has likewise done for his master, with the other passports. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR, Hague, May 26, N. S. 1676.

BY my last I gave you an account of one day's delay fallen out in dispatch of the passports, by the change desired by monsieur Pompone in that for the duke of Vitry. The next day, being Saturday, I procured the passport for the mareschal d'Estrades, and dispatched away the trumpet to Maestricht about noon. He seemed to doubt he could not be there under four days, so as I cannot expect to hear of him again till the end of this week.

I assured the French plenipotentiaries of the emperor's passes, and the other four German princes (that were wanting) in some few days; but endeavoured to

possess

poſſeſs them, how little thoſe paſſes would be neceſſary for their journey to Nimeguen, which I hoped they would not delay upon that occaſion. I know not how they will underſtand or govern themſelves, but ſhall inform you as ſoon as I receive advice by the return of the trumpet.

I have this day received yours of the 12th, and ſhall make the beſt uſe of what you there adviſe me, concerning the miſtaken grounds of ſo many ſurmiſes here about his majeſty's partiality in the preſent war, which I have met with oftener of late than I thought fit to trouble you with, and ought to aſk your pardon for doing it at all, unleſs it be upon formal complaints from the States; though, perhaps, it may not be unfit for you to know ſomething of their thoughts and common diſcourſe in this kind, as well as of their formal paces.

I am fully inſtructed by your laſt, in the ſtate of his majeſty's preſent reſolutions concerning the firſt viſits which are to attend upon his further pleaſure, after the mind of the Auſtrian miniſters is known. As to that of the neutral country, I very well remember the ſtate it was left in, which you are pleaſed to mind me of; but as France refuſed the extent his majeſty would have given it, to take in Meurs, ſo the confederates abſolutely (and, indeed, from their firſt accepting of the town of Nimeguen) excluded that offer of two leagues round it, and confined the neutrality to the two rivers. Nor is the jealouſy of the French entering into the heart of the country greater in the prince and thoſe of the preſent government here, than it is in the Spaniſh and Imperial councils, ſo as that is a limit that cannot take place; nor indeed if it could, do I ſee how any line deſcribed, only by diſtance of leagues, or any other meaſures, can ever free that matter from perpetual diſputes upon incurſions which parties may make, and truſt to wrangling about what

diſtance

diſtance the place was at where the hoſtility was committed; therefore I deſire you will put his majeſty in mind of ſome reſolution in this matter (upon which I refer you to what I ſaid in my laſt) ſince, till it be agreed and declared, there can be no ſafety for the miniſters that will be repairing to the congreſs.

I ſhall ſpeak to the penſioner of monſieur Oudart's buſineſs the very next time I ſee him, and give you an account of it; which is all I remember at preſent neceſſary to lengthen this trouble, from, Sir, your, &c.

To the Ambaſſadors of France, Meſſieurs Colbert and d'Avaux.

Hague, May 22, N. S. 1676.

Meſſieurs,

AFTER ſo many difficulties in the affair of the paſſports, at laſt, about two days ago, they have been exchanged. I have ever ſince been in expectation of the emperor's paſſports, which his miniſter gave me reaſon to believe would be brought by the courier which arrived here from Germany laſt night. Thoſe of the elector palatine, of Mentz, of Triers, and of Munſter, are alſo behind; but are promiſed to be delivered in a very few days. The other confederates will give me no more than one paſſport each, although I have good reaſon to believe, that their miniſters here have three in their hands: their dealing thus

Aux Ambaſſadeurs de France, Colbert & d'Avaux.

La Haye, May 22, N. S. 1676.

Meſſieurs,

APrès tant de difficultez ſur l'affaire des paſſeports, l'échange s'eſt fait à la fin depuis deux jours. J'ay attendu depuis pour avoir ceux de l'empereur, leſquels ſon miniſtre icy m'a fait eſperer par le courier d'Allemagne, arrivé hier au ſoir. Il y a auſſi ceux de l'electeur palatin, de Mayence, de Treves, et de Munſter, qui manquent encore, et qu'on promet en fort peu de jours. Les autres confederez ne m'ont voulu donner que chacun un paſſeport, encore que j'ay raiſon de croire que leurs miniſtres icy ont trois

hus is founded upon this; hat each of them hath been furniſhed with one paſſport only from France. Notwithſtanding theſe little defaults, and the reſtrictions made by the incloſed reſolution of the States General, I thought it my duty no longer to put off diſpatching thoſe paſſports which I have already received for your excellencies; being fully perſuaded, that theſe incidents can in no ways be any hindrance to you from making uſe of them for your journey to Nimeguen, the route that your excellencies will take, being at a ſufficient diſtance from any of the territories of thoſe princes who have not as yet ſent their paſſports. The Imperial miniſter aſſures me, that the delay on his ſide is only owing to a change made in the form of the paſſports, occaſioned by the denial of France to permit the free paſſage of couriers: this has ſtopped the firſt paſſports upon the road, which had been diſpatched by the emperor; and the incident about the duke of Lorrain, which ſince fell out, is the reaſon why no more haſte has been made in diſpatching new ones. I do not apprehend that there is any great myſtery in this; but believe, that it is all rather owing to overſight, than to any ill intention. I ſhall, however, take

trois en main; mais ils ſe fondent ſur ce qu'il n'y a eu que pour chacun d'eux un paſſeport de France. Nonobſtant ces petits defauts, et les reſtrictions portées dans la reſolution de meſſieurs les Etats enveloppée, j'ay crû de mon devoir de ne plus deferer la depêche des paſſeports que j'ay en main, vers vos excellences, ne croyant pas que ces circonſtances vous peuvent empêcher de vous en ſervir pour le voyage de Nimegue; la route que V. Ex. doivent tenir ſe trouvant aſſez éloignée de terres de ces princes-là qui n'ont encore envoyé leurs paſſeports. Le miniſtre de l'empereur m'aſſure que ce retardement n'eſt arrivé que par le changement ſurvenu au formulaire des paſſeports ſur le refus de la France de conſentir à la liberté des couriers; ce qui a fait retenir en chemin les premiers paſſeports depêchez par l'empereur, & que l'incident de Lorraine étant ſurvenu depuis, on ne s'eſt pas preſſé de depêcher les ſeconds. Je croy qu'il n'y a pas grand miſtère, & qu'il y a eu plûtôt de nonchalance que de malice. Je ne manqueray

pas

take care to preſs, as far as poſſible, the doing what is yet behind; and, in the mean time, I hope your excellencies will endeavour to get two other paſſports diſpatched for the emperor and two for the States, for whom, as yet, I have received only one, no more than I have for any of the other allies, excepting Spain. The miniſters of Brandenburg demand alſo three, in granting which I do not ſee there can be any difficulty. I have ſent this preſent diſpatch to monſieur d'Eſtrades by a trumpeter, as I was ordered by his majeſty, and ſhould be very glad to hear, as ſoon as may be, that your excellencies have received it, and to have the honour and pleaſure of ſhewing you at Nimeguen, with how particular a reſpect and eſteem I am, meſſieurs, your excellencies moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant.

pas de preſſer tant que je pourrois le reſte de cette affaire; & en attendant j'eſpere que vos Exs. tacheront de faire depêcher deux autres paſſeports pour l'empereur, & deux pour cet Etat, pour qui je n'ay reçu qu'un encore, comme pour tous les alliez hormis l'Eſpagne. Les miniſtres de Brandebourg en demandent trois auſſi, ſur quoy je ne vois aucune difficulté. J'ay envoyé la depêche preſente par un trompette à monſieur d'Eſtrades, ſelon les ordres de ſa majeſté, & ſerai bien aiſe de ſavoir au plûtôt que V. Exs. l'ayent bien reçu, & que j'auray bientôt l'honneur & la ſatisfaction de vous faire voir à Nimegue le reſpect & eſtime particuliere avec laquelle je ſuis, meſſieurs, de V. excellences le très humble & très obéïſſant ſerviteur.

To Monſieur d'Eſtrades.

Hague, May 22, N. S. 1676.

SIR,

BY order of the king my maſter, I ſend to you the pacquet directed to my lords the ambaſſadors of his moſt chriſtian majeſty at Charleville,

Au Monſieur d'Eſtrades.

La Haye, May 22, S. N. 1676.

Monſieur,

PAR les ordres du roy mon maître, je vous envoye le pacquet deſtiné pour meſſieurs les ambaſſadeurs du roy très chrêtien à Charleville,

ville, in which are contained the paſſports of the confederates neceſſary for their proceeding to the place of congreſs. I make no queſtion but you will take all needful care to forward ſo great a work, and pay all due regard to his majeſty's deſires, that no hindrance may be any way put to the advancing it as much as poſſible.

I deſire you, Sir, to let me know by the trumpeter, when he returns, that it is come ſafe to your hands; and that you ſtill have in your remembrance one who has been ſo long time, and ſhall always continue, with a very particular eſteem, Sir, your excellency's moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant.

leville, & contenant les paſſeports des confederez neceſſaires à leur voyage au lieu de congrès : je ne doute pas que vous en aurez le ſoin qui eſt deu à l'acheminement d'un ſi grand ouvrage, & au deſir de ſa majeſté, qu'il n'y a point de retardement à la faire avancer tout ce qui ſera poſſible.

Je vous ſupplie, monſieur, de me faire ſavoir par le retour du trompette, que vous les aurez bien reçus, & qu'il vous ſouvient encore d'une perſonne qui a été ſi longtems, & qui ſera toujours avec une eſtime très particuliere, monſieur, de V. Exc. le très humble & très obéïſſant ſerviteur.

To Monſieur d'Eſtrades.

Hague, May 23, N. S. 1676.

SIR,

I HAD yeſterday finiſhed the incloſed diſpatch, to ſend it you, purſuant to the orders of the king my maſter, with my requeſt, that you would pleaſe to forward it as ſoon as poſſible to the lords the plenipotentiaries of his moſt chriſtian majeſty at Charleville: when the trumpeter was upon his departure, I received a letter

Au Monſieur d'Eſtrades.

La Haye, May 23, S. N. 1676.

Monſieur,

J'Avois hier achevé cette depêche enveloppée pour vous l'envoyer ſelon les ordres du roy mon maître, & vous prier de la faire tenir au plûtôt à meſſieurs les plenipotentiaires du roy très-chrêtien, à Charleville. Quand le trompette devoit partir, j'ay reçu une lettre de

a letter from monſieur Pompone, in which he adviſed me, that your excellency was appointed one of them in the room of the duke of Vitry; and therefore deſired me to diſpatch forthwith a paſſport for you, and to ſtop that which was already in my hands from the States General for the ſaid duke. For, as for the Spaniſh paſſports, they have blanks left in them, and ſo there is no need that they ſhould be changed on this occaſion. This has cauſed one day's delay, there being no poſſibility of diſpatching the paſſport yeſterday in the afternoon, becauſe the States never aſſemble but in mornings. In the mean time, I greatly pleaſe myſelf with receiving ſo agreeable a notice, which gives me hopes of enjoying an aſſiſtance and a converſation ſuch as is yours, the latter of which will not be more agreeable to me, than the former will be advantageous in conducting an affair of ſuch high importance, and that deſerves to paſs through hands as experienced and ſucceſsful as yours are. On this account it is, that I ought rather to wiſh his moſt chriſtian majeſty joy of this choice than yourſelf, ſince you will find, no doubt, a great deal of trouble in it, as well as reap a great deal of glory from it.

I ſend

de monſieur de Pompone, par laquelle il me donna l'avis que votre excellence en étoit un, au lieu du duc de Vitry; & me pria de faire depêcher un paſſeport pour vous, en retenant celuy que j'avois en main pour ledit duc de la part de meſſieurs les Etats Géneraux. Car pour les paſſeports d'Eſpagne ils ſont tous en blanc, & n'ont beſoin d'aucun changement ſur cette occaſion. Celui-ci a cauſé le retardement d'un jour, le paſſeport ne ſe pouvant depêcher hier l'après dinée, puiſque les Etats ne s'aſſemblent que les matins. Mais en même tems j'ay été conſolé par une ſi agréable nouvelle, qui m'a donné l'eſperance de joüir d'une telle aſſiſtance & converſation comme la vôtre, dont l'une ne me ſera pas plus agréable que l'autre utile dans une affaire de ſi grande importance, & qui merite bien une main auſſi habile & heureuſe que la vôtre. C'eſt pourquoy je dois plûtôt féliciter de ce choix à ſa majeſté très-chrêtienne, qu'à vous, qui aurez pour vôtre partage beaucoup de peine ſans doute, auſſi bien que de gloire.

Je

I ſend you a copy of the inloſed letter to Meſſieurs Colbert and d'Avaux, as alſo the reſolution of the States mentioned therein, that you may ſee in what condition this whole affair lies. I beg the favour of you to give me notice by the trumpeter, at his return, that the pacquet is delivered ſafely into your hands. I am, Sir, your Excellency's moſt, &c.

Je vous envoye une copie de la lettre envellopée à Meſſieurs Colbert & d'Avaux comme auſſi de la reſolution des Etats y mentionnée, à fin que vous voyez l'état de toute cette affaire. Je vous ſupplie de me faire ſavoir par le retour du trompette que vous aurez bien receu le pacquet. Je ſuis, Monſieur, D. V. E. &c.

To the Prince of Orange.

Hague, May 29, N. S. 1676.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

THE incloſure of this letter from his majeſty muſt bear me out in giving your highneſs this preſent trouble: it came to me ſeconded by one from Mr. Secretary Coventry upon the ſame occaſion, and was delivered to me by the lady in whoſe favour, I ſuppoſe, it was deſigned. I told her, I did not believe your highneſs would do any thing in thoſe kind of affairs till your return from the field, and ſhe ſeemed to believe ſo too; but, however, deſired I would ſend your highneſs the letter, which I promiſed by the firſt; and that is all my part in this affair.

All that I can ſay in another, wherewith your highneſs encharged me, is, that * the perſon chiefly concerned endeavoured to have it excuſed abſolutely till after the peace, and that ſuch an anſwer might be given; upon which time was taken to conſider: ſince which I have heard nothing, but imagine it is poſſible your highneſs may by a nearer way.

* The Duke of York.

Having exchanged the paſſports, and diſpatched them to Maeſtricht a week ſince, I do not foreſee any thing likely to hinder the French ambaſſador's journey to Nimeguen, though it may be a little delayed by the count d'Eſtrades's exception to his paſs from the States, which ſtiles him only Compte, to which he deſires may be added, Mareſchal de France. I ſuppoſe there will be no difficulty made upon it, nor, I hope, in the emperor's paſſports, though they are not yet come; but, I believe, it may have been only negligence, without any other myſtery.

In my laſt letters from Madrid of the 7th current, our ambaſſador there writes me word, that after a conſultation in that court upon the propoſal of his majeſty's expedient of giving all the paſſports himſelf, the count de Pignoranda had come to him with a meſſage, declaring that king's conſent to it, ſo far as concerned all his dominions and territories ſubject to his obedience. The ambaſſador writes farther, that this reſolution was taken there, contrary to the advice of many paſſionate letters that were written thither upon that ſubject from Holland and Flanders. I thought this was a light fit to give your highneſs, becauſe you would not, perhaps, receive it any other ways; for monſieur de Lyra profeſſes to know nothing of it, and would make a difficulty of believing it, though I am ſure it cannot fail after the manner it comes to me.

I have not yet fixed the time of my going to Nimeguen, expecting other motions that way, unleſs new orders preſs me from court. I doubt not, but what paſſes in the field will ſignify more than what will paſs there this ſummer as to the peace, which your highneſs ſays (in the honour I received of one from you of the 18th) you will labour in. I am very ſorry for the accidents you tell me have hindered you in ſo great a deſign, and very glad of the hopes you expreſs

of

of being able to advance it, ſince nothing can be of more glory to your highneſs, and nothing can touch me more than whatever is ſo; being as I am, and as I ſhall be ever, with ſo much devotion and truth, Sir, your highneſs's moſt obedient and moſt humble ſervant.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, June 2, N. S. 1676.

ON Saturday laſt I received a letter from the mareſchal d'Eſtrades by the trumpet I ſent, with acknowledgment of my pacquet incloſing the paſſports for the French plenipotentiaries, which, he ſaid, he had diſpatched away immediately to Charleville, excepting only his own paſſport from the States; this he ſent me, but finding fault with their treating him Le Sieur Compte d'Eſtrades, without the ſtile of mareſchal de France, and deſiring me to procure another with that change. This I have done, and diſpatched it away to him this afternoon; but could not, at the ſame time, ſend him the emperor's paſſports, which are not yet arrived.

I do not think it can be this default which makes ſo little advance as yet in the preparations for Nimeguen, that Sir Lionel Jenkins writes me word, their ſervants there own to know nothing yet of that matter, and have no orders to get any thing ready to convey or receive them. I rather ſuppoſe, it may be the buſineſs of the compte d'Eſtrades's equipage, which he intends very great; having ſent hither for paſſports for his ſervants to buy two-and-forty coach horſes; and by a liſt the trumpeter ſhewed me of their intended equipage, his ſhare is four-and-twenty lacquais, and all the reſt in proportion. The other two will have the ſame number between them. The Spaniards, you know, that cannot vie with the French in things of more importance, will not fail of doing it to the height in

this; and I remember laſt year, when the marquis de Manceras was deſigned for the congreſs, a liſt was ſent hither of the equipage he intended, of which there were to be twenty pages. I ſuppoſe, the marquis de los Balbaces may not go lower, having, they ſay, a revenue of two hundred thouſand crowns yearly, beſides the allowance for his embaſſy. If all be like to go at this rate in ſuch a town as Nimeguen, I do not ſee how we ſhall avoid one of the three judgments, of war, or famine, or ſickneſs; beſides, that it is not his majeſty's intent, for aught I find, that his ambaſſadors ſhall enter the liſts upon any ſuch emulations. I cannot tell if theſe circumſtances may make it ſeem worth his majeſty's conſidering, whether it would be fit to write to the ſeveral crowns concerned in this treaty, that, to prevent the diſorder and inconveniencies of too great trains in a ſmall town, upon the aſſembly of ſo many miniſters, his majeſty had commanded his not to exceed each of them the number of four pages and eight lacquais, and would be glad the reſt would follow that example. As likewiſe for all crimes againſt the peace of the place, each ambaſſador ſhould be allowed to put his ſervants ſo guilty into the hands of the uſual juſtice of the town of Nimeguen; and that they ſhould be inſtructed to live eaſy in all points of mere ceremony during the congreſs, like perſons who were ſent thither with diſpoſitions to advance the peace, and not to ſharpen the quarrels of their maſters by thoſe of the miniſters, which may otherwiſe very well fall out. I thought it poſſible ſome ſuch circumſtances could not be amiſs to add to circular letters, which his majeſty might ſend for haſtening away of the ſeveral ambaſſadors, upon the end ſo happily attained in all preliminary difficulties; for, I doubt, there may be need of ſuch inſtances towards the diſpatch of the Auſtrian, Daniſh, and Brandenburgh miniſters, by the diſpoſitions I obſerve from the motions of thoſe courts thus far of the way.

This

This day one of the States deputies brought me the incloſed paper grounded upon a memorial given them by the Brandenburgh miniſters, in a ſtile ſo bruſque, as I hear, as to deſire of the States, that till the change pretended were made in his maſter's paſſports, they would give order to forbid the French plenipotentiaries entrance into the town of Nimeguen. I hear, he expects not only to ſend ambaſſadors, but to have them treated, in all points, like thoſe of crowned heads, in which I neither know his majeſty's ſtile, nor that of France; but ſuppoſe, it will be neceſſary for us to be diſtinctly informed of the firſt.

I was extreme glad to find, by your laſt of the 16th, his majeſty's final reſolution upon that matter of the firſt viſit, which I ever foreſaw would engage us, and perhaps the congreſs, in ſome difficulties. You will pleaſe more particularly to inſtruct, whether we are to give the firſt viſits likewiſe to thoſe that come after us from the duke of Lorrain or the electors, with characters of ambaſſadors; for, I hear, thoſe from the duke and the elector of Brandenburgh will certainly do ſo.

Monſieur de Lyra will not acknowledge to know any thing of what Sir William Godolphin writes me, of that crown's having conſented to his majeſty's expedient; but I have told it the penſioner, who ſays, he will another time deſire him to conſult with his inſtructions, or, at leaſt with his letters, to know whether he is like to be avowed or not. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, June 5, N. S. 1676.

SINCE my laſt of the 2d, I am to acknowledge the honour of one from you of the 19th paſt, with his majeſty's commands concerning an authentic

explanation to be drawn from the States, of thoſe words in their reſolution of the 18th paſt, *Que l'échange ſe feroit ſur ce pied*; as likewiſe concerning the offices his majeſty deſires ſhould be made from hence in the caſe of prince William of Furſtemburgh.

For the firſt, I do not expect any difficulty will be made in it, having this day ſpoken with one of the deputies preſent at the exchange of the paſſports, who remembers and acknowledges what they then ſaid to me upon the interpretation of thoſe words; ſo that by next poſt I hope to ſend you the declaration you deſire to that effect.

For the ſecond, I ſhall ſpeak with the penſioner about it the firſt time I can ſee him; and ſince, I ſuppoſe, his majeſty deſires it only that the thing ſhould be done upon the offices to be performed by Mr. Skelton at Vienna, I ſhall uſe my utmoſt endeavours towards it, by engaging, as far as I can, either the offices of the States, or ſome of the chief perſons among the commiſſioners of ſecret affairs (if the penſioner continue to decline it) ſo as it may be underſtood at Vienna either by the States miniſters there, or by the emperor's here, that this ſtate would be glad his majeſty may have ſatisfaction in this point. I ſhall likewiſe endeavour to engage the Imperial miniſters here in this purſuit, and the marquis of Grana, whoſe credit goes a great way, they ſay, in that court. And all this I ſhall do as from myſelf, without intereſting his majeſty's name any further in this matter.

I have at length, after many and long diſcourſes about the matter of reviſions, received the incloſed anſwer, which, I ſee, contains what the penſioner always told me, that what they are engaged to by the letter of their treaty, though againſt their intention and his majeſty's, as they were then aſſured from their ambaſſador, they will yet perform; but that

they

they cannot, upon that pretence, be preſſed to things wholly againſt the conſtitution of their government, and wholly unprovided for by the very letter of the treaty. I am ever, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, June 9, N. S. 1676.

I AM to acknowledge the favour of one from you of the 26th paſt, which had but too juſt an excuſe for the haſte of it, upon ſo unhappy an accident as you had been that day ſurprized with by the fire in Southwark. I was very glad to find you expected ſuddenly ſome determination in the buſineſs of the neutral country, which ſeems to be the point now moſt preſſing in relation to the congreſs.

The emperor's reſident tells me, there is an expreſs upon the way with the paſſports from that court, and pretends to expect them with the end of this week. But I foreſee he will make difficulty of delivering any more than he receives, and you are not yet pleaſed to give me hopes of having two more ſent for the emperor from France, which I put you in mind of ſome time ſince. I do not hear that the French ambaſſadors are like to make any difficulty of coming to Nimeguen for want of thoſe paſſports; nor for the States having in their reſolution of the 18th paſt tied up the exchange, in a manner, to the reciprocation. Nor do I think they will have need to make any difficulty, or that there will be any danger as to the validity of the paſſports, though ſuch little circumſtances ſhould be either refuſed or delayed by France. I ſend you, however, incloſed, the States declaration in form, as you deſired, of thoſe words, *Sur ce pied-là*; relating no farther than to the clauſes immediately preceding, about the equality pretended in the paſſports.

I have been caſting about how I might beſt ſucceed in what his majeſty deſireth to be effected in the buſineſs of prince William. I ſpoke firſt to the penſioner, who is obſtinate to excuſe himſelf from meddling in it, or conſenting to any thing from the States in favour of it; but I put it ſo home, from his majeſty's having reaſon to expect this point of deference from the emperor, after having received ſo much greater from France in the two preliminaries, that he ſaid, for his part, he wiſhed the emperor would do it, ſo he had no hand in it. And upon my propoſal, that monſieur Mauregnault ſhould both write to the States reſident at Vienna, and ſpeak to the emperor's here to poſſeſs them both, that the States would be content the thing were done, and wiſhed that his majeſty might not be diſobliged in it; the penſioner conſented to it, but deſired that I would ſpeak to monſieur Maureg-nault, and that I would do it in his (the penſioner's) abſence, who was going to the prince. Immediately after he went, I ſpoke with monſieur Mauregnault, who was content the thing ſhould be done, but would not adventure to do it of himſelf; and ſaid, this private way had been propoſed before by monſieur Van Beuninghen, but was not thought fit to be either done by any of the commiſſioners, without order, nor to be propoſed at the council of ſecret affairs. All I could do, was to engage him to ſpeak with the emperor's miniſter laſt night, and to endeavour to poſſeſs him of it, as what, he believed, was the opinion of the States, though they did not think fit to enter into it. From him I went immediately to the emperor's miniſter, becauſe the poſt was to part for Vienna laſt night; and I knew not whether Mr. Skelton might not have orders already to advance his journey.

To all I ſaid upon this ſubject, though as wholly from myſelf, and out of a deſire that his majeſty ſhould

not

not have occaſion to think himſelf leſs conſidered by the emperor than by France, he anſwered, that he wiſhed it himſelf; but that upon the laſt repreſentations I had engaged him in, he was ordered to ſay no more upon that ſubject, becauſe the emperor had reſolved to open that whole matter at the beginning of the congreſs, and in ſuch a manner, as he was ſure would ſatisfy all the princes there; beſides, he ſaid the States had ever expreſſed ſo great a repugnance in this matter, that he believed his maſter conſidered him in it as well as himſelf. However, I did not leave him till he had promiſed to write laſt night, and repreſented all the reaſons I had given him, and the aſſurances I made him of the States being rather deſirous the thing ſhould be done, which I knew he would be confirmed in by monſieur Maureg-nault before the poſt parted.

This is all I have yet done, but am reſolved to-morrow to try one point more; which is, at engage monſieur Mauregnault to propoſe it at the committee of ſecret affairs, which is now very thin, while the penſioner is abſent; and endeavour to engage them either to write themſelves to their reſident at Vienna, or at leaſt to order the greffier to do it; ſo as he may ſatisfy the emperor that it is a thing deſired by the States, and will be thought prudent by them to make ſuch a compliment to his majeſty at this time. If I can compaſs it, I hope it may go by the poſt on Thurſday night, and you ſhall have a farther account of it by next ordinary. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, June 12, N. S. 1676.

SINCE my laſt I engaged monſieur Mauregnault to move the commiſſioners of ſecret affairs to write to their reſident at Vienna concerning prince William, and

and in the terms I propoſed, according to what I told you in my laſt. He has been ſince with me, and told me, he choſe his time when there were but three more; but they excuſed themſelves, upon their reſident being either parting, or already parted, from Vienna this way; having lately obtained leave to return hither upon his particular affairs. Though this be given me in payment, yet I believe the truth is, they are timorous of acting any thing in the abſence of both prince and penſioner, without being inſtructed in either of their minds; ſo that I have been able yet to go no farther than engaging monſieur de Lyra's, and monſieur Campricht's offices at Vienna, upon monſieur Mauregnault's telling them what he thought was the mind of the States. Upon the penſioner's return I will try once more, whether he will be content to be underſtood by the other deputies in this matter, whether he ſpeak or no; which he ever excuſes, upon a ſolemn vow he has made to the contrary.

I told you in a poſtſcript of my laſt, that the emperor's paſſports were juſt then arrived. The next day that miniſter here put in the incloſed memorial, which the deputies came to acquaint me with the ſame afternoon. I told them, they might underſtand it as they pleaſed, but, for my part, I looked upon it as a captious thing, and ſhould ſo declare my ſenſe of it publickly, if upon the ſuggeſtions in it he made difficulty or delay to exchange the paſſports, ſince he knew very well the form of thoſe from France, and that they were without the clauſe for couriers; and if exception had been taken at that, the emperor's paſſports might have been drawn up accordingly, as the Spaniards have been of a ſecond edition: that for the number, I had writ to have it ſupplied from France and Sweden, and expected it; but in the mean time, to take away all excuſe, I was content to exchange one

for

for one, till I ſhould be poſſeſſed of more. Hereupon I gave the deputies the copies of the French and Swediſh paſſports, to be communicated to monſieur Campricht, according to his deſire.

Yeſterday I ſent to monſieur Mauregnault, to know what was like to be done; but he returned me anſwer, that the reſident was ſatisfied with the form of the Swediſh, but not of the French; and that he was reſolved to put in another memorial, to excuſe himſelf from making the exchange till all was reciprocal. I went to monſieur Mauregnault, and made him ſenſible how all theſe exceptions of the reſident were expreſly provided againſt by their reſolution of the 18th paſt, and that the States were to anſwer to the world for all captious or eluſory paces that were made in this matter of the peace by their allies, as well as themſelves; ſince it was in their power to ſupport them in it, or to leave them. This afternoon monſieur Mauregnault ſent me word, the States had reſolved their deputies ſhould go to the reſident, and abſolutely demand that two of the emperor's paſſports, one for France, and the other for Sweden, ſhould be put into their hands, to be exchanged for the ſame number from thoſe two crowns: that they, the deputies, were to go this afternoon, and if they found him, they would give me a farther account of it before the parting of this ordinary.

I hear of another difficulty made by the Daniſh miniſter, about the want of an *&c.* after the words *Daniæ & Norwegiæ*, in the Swediſh paſſport, which both the penſioner and monſieur Mauregnault have recommended to me; but I refuſed to meddle in it, unleſs they gave it me in writing, which they ſay will be done; and then, I ſuppoſe, you muſt be troubled with it, as I always expected to be with any delays or difficulties that could be raiſed by ſeveral of the German confederates, who hoped to find their account in the

the war. But, I believe, though the States ſeem not inclinable to ſeparate at all from them in the groſs of the affair, yet they will not ſupport them in what is only captious or dilatory; nor could they, I believe, anſwer it to the popular clamours it would raiſe here; which is an argument I am often fain to have recourſe to, and not without reaſon or ſucceſs.

By the extraordinary diligence of this laſt pacquet, I am already poſſeſſed of yours of the 30th paſt; to which I find other return due at preſent, beſides the acknowledgment of what you there tell me of his majeſty's reſolutions already taken in order to the congreſs; and the expectation you give me of what will be farther conſidered as to the treatment of electoral or ducal ambaſſadors. As much as I have heard, no ſuch have been received in the Spaniſh court, but in the French they have, from the duke of Savoy; I think never from that of Lorrain; and cannot well tell whether from any elector or no.

I am very glad his majeſty falls in with my repreſentations about devolving the care of the peace, and puniſhment of criminal offences, upon the magiſtrates of the town; not only for what you pleaſe to remark for the newneſs of the thing, if it were left to the mediators, as this ſtate has deſigned, but becauſe it were impoſſible for us to diſcharge ſuch an office, without certain diſtaſte to ſome of the parties, which, I think, is our part to avoid all that can be. However, for what may concern ourſelves and our ſervants in that matter, I think it will be neceſſary for us to have inſtructions, allowing us not only to propoſe it to the reſt, but to do it ourſelves, in caſe occaſion be given; for without orders, I doubt, it will not be fit for us to ſubject ourſelves, or any that belong to us, to any juſtice beſides his majeſty's.

For the compliment you enjoin to be made to the States, or the penſioner, upon the change of his

majeſty's

majeſty's reſolution concerning the firſt viſits, ſince the arrival of their ambaſſadors at Nimeguen, I ſhall chooſe rather to do it to the penſioner, at his return, than paſs any formalities upon it towards the States. What you intended towards the Dutch ambaſſadors already at Nimeguen, is, I believe, performed; for among ſeveral queries in point of ceremony, which Sir Lionel Jenkins's great modeſty ſent me laſt week, upon the expected approach of the French ambaſſadors, one was, whether to take notice of that matter to the Dutch? and, whether before or after he made the viſit to the French? Upon his earneſt deſire I adventured to give him my opinion in all of them; and in this it was, to take notice of the change of his orders to the Dutch ambaſſadors, even before the arrival of the French; and to tell them, that his orders being general, he would now do the ſame to any other Dutch ambaſſador that ſhould hereafter arrive. I have found by Sir Lionel Jenkins's laſt, that he was pleaſed to approve of what I had writ upon all the ſeveral points, and reſolved to do accordingly; ſo that, I ſuppoſe, this is already performed, and in the manner I mentioned.

I ſhall ſend you a deduction of what concerns the merchant-adventurers by the next; and remain ever, Sir, your, &c.

Since the writing of this, and juſt upon the cloſure of the pacquet, two of the emperor's paſſports are delivered me, in exchange with one from France, and another from Sweden.

To the Duke.

Hague, June 16, N. S. 1676.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

AFTER ſo great an honour as this pacquet brought me, by one from your highneſs of the 30th

30th paſt, I thought it could not too ſoon be either acknowledged or obeyed; and, therefore, I preſume to give your highneſs moſt humble thanks for the honour I received, at the ſame time I diſpatched away the incloſed to the prince of Orange. I very well remember his majeſty's mind, which he was pleaſed himſelf to ſignify to me when I was laſt in England, upon diſcourſe of the prince's journey thither, but never had any occaſion to make uſe of it, till I took leave of him the day before he left this place; for, though his majeſty had laſt winter ſome jealouſy of ſuch an intention, yet I never heard the prince ſay one word towards it, ſince my firſt coming over till then, unleſs it was when my lord chamberlain was here; and whatever he ſaid then in my hearing looked rather like civility, or return of compliment, than any ſerious thought. When he entered thoſe diſcourſes upon it, which I gave his majeſty and your highneſs an account of, I told him his majeſty's mind; to which he replied, that he had always thought ſo too, while he had any hopes of the peace being made; but he did not ſee how that could be, unleſs his majeſty would make it, by declaring the terms upon which he thought it fit and reaſonable for both parties to agree: that he did not find his majeſty diſpoſed to make this peace, having never received any anſwer to what he had written upon that ſubject; and therefore the war being, in his opinion, like to draw out in length, he was reſolved to try, if he might have his majeſty's leave, to make that journey after this campaign, and thereupon to write thoſe letters he ſent me; further than conveying them, I had nothing in commiſſion from his highneſs, but only to endeavour that it might be a ſecret. And I muſt confeſs, as far as my ſhort ſight will reach, I think there can be no inconvenience in that from circumſtances of all ſides, whether it ends here or no;

no; which will depend wholly upon his majesty and your highness.

I am sorry this station furnishes me with no occasions of entering into your highness's more particular service, by the honour of your commands, which should always meet with the obedience that becomes me, and the constant devotion wherewith I am, Sir, your highness's most faithful and most obedient humble servant.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR, Hague, June 19, N. S. 1676.

SINCE my last, I have received from the French ambassadors at Nimeguen two passports for the emperor, as many for the duke of Brandenburgh, and this state, with three for the duke of Nieuburg; so as there want only from France two for Denmark, whose minister here is to the full as punctilious as any other. Those for the emperor I exchanged yesterday, and transmitted the three Imperial passes immediately to the ambassadors at Nimeguen, who by their letters pressed me for them, as well as for the rest from the German princes. The others I could not yet exchange, the Brandenburgh ministers being out of town, and the Nieuburg passports not being yet arrived. Those, likewise, from the four German princes I before mentioned are not yet come; but, I question not, a few days will bring all into my hands. Those last arrived for Brandenburgh are in the stile he desires, of ambassador and plenipotentiary. I do not hear of any other duke, or prince, besides that elector, that intends to give his minister the stile of ambassador, and I wish he would have declined it; for, on the one side, he expects they should be treated like those of crowned heads, and they, I doubt, will not understand it so. I know some have said upon it, that

that they thought as much ought to be given to a king's envoy as to an elector's ambaſſador, if that ſtile be allowed them: I hear it has never been ſo in France, no more than in Spain; and that the pretence is grounded chiefly upon his majeſty having treated prince Maurice ſo, being ambaſſador from the elector of Brandenburgh; which I had never heard any thing of till the other day, from the Lunenburgh miniſter here.

Having obſerved in his majeſty's inſtructions of December 16th, 1675, to his ambaſſadors for the congreſs, that I was commanded to repair immediately to Nimeguen; after having procured effectually from the States whatever ſhould be found neceſſary to be done on their parts, as well for the actual forming the aſſembly, the determining a reaſonable circuit of neutral country next adjacent to Nimeguen, between the two rivers of the Waal and the Meuſe, as for the diſpatching by themſelves, and their confederates, the paſſports neceſſary for the other parties in the forms that are proper; and conceiving to have now accompliſhed all three points, the determination of neutral country between thoſe two rivers being wholly left to his majeſty by the States and their allies; and the paſſports neceſſary being all exchanged, and thoſe leſs important being yet every day expected; I thought myſelf obliged by the tenor of his majeſty's ſaid inſtructions, eſpecially upon the arrival of the French ambaſſadors, to prepare myſelf for my journey to Nimeguen: and having a houſe there already upon my hands, at the rate of very near fourſcore pounds a month (though his majeſty is not pleaſed to conſider that, or any other expences neceſſary upon this removal) I have given order for carrying away my goods to Nimeguen with the firſt, intending to follow them ſo ſoon as my houſe, by their arrival, will be ready to receive me; which, I ſuppoſe, may be about the time that, in anſwer to this

this I may know, if his majesty has any further commands for me here before I go.

I remember but two businesses relating to this place, that I am yet to give you the account of; which are, that of the Jews petition for Surinam, and that of the English company at Dort. I promised you a deduction of this last by a former post; and have deferred it only because I would do both together, and speak to the pensioner once more, upon both of them, before I did it, which I have not yet been able to do; but hope to do it by the next, and give you the account of them; as well as of what he will be induced to in the business of prince Willliam. I am ever, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR, Hague, June 24, N. S. 1676.

WITH your two last of the 6th and 9th, I have received all the several papers you were pleased to send me, concerning the several parties acceptance of his majesty's mediation, as likewise what concerns Mr. Skelton's present dispatch. I have, since my last, made my utmost attempt, both upon the pensioner, and the other commissioners of secret affairs, in order towards the facilitating that pursuit by some offices from hence. And though the pensioner continued obstinate to move nothing in it himself; yet I prevailed with him, at length, to let the others understand, that he should not dislike their doing it; and that whatever the emperor should be content to do in compliance with his majesty, he believed this state would be satisfied with. Hereupon I got monsieur Mauregnault to propose it again yesterday; and at night he came to my house, but not finding me within, he left word with my secretary, that what could be done was resolved in that business; and that they had

written to communicate it to the prince, according to their forms. I have not been able to find him to-day ſo as to know the particulars; but ſuppoſe they will amount to ſomething that may conduce to the good of the affair, which I ſhall, by next poſt give you account of. I have made all my inſtances in this matter as wholly from myſelf; but monſieur Van Beuninghen writ them word, that I had orders from his majeſty; which I was content they ſhould believe from him, though I owned it not.

I ſend you incloſed a letter for his majeſty, from the duke of Hanover, delivered me by his reſident here, who deſired that his maſter's paſſports might ſtyle him duke of Brunſwick and Lunenburgh; and his miniſters, plenipotentiaries; not, *miniſtres & deputés*, as the French ſtyle runs to all the German princes, except thoſe they ſent laſt for the dukes of Brandenburgh and Nieuburg. I obſerved in theſe laſt, with ſome wonder, that the ſtyle uſed not only to the elector's, but to the duke of Nieuburg's miniſters, is, *ambaſſadeur & plenipotentiaire*; whereas, in the former paſſports lying ſtill by me, for the electors Palatine Ment, and Triers it is only *miniſtres & deputés*; which the Hanover reſident tells me, he hears none of them will accept of; and that the Brandenburgh miniſter here was almoſt diſgraced, for accepting one in that form, upon the exchange. I received letters from the French ambaſſadors at Nimeguen, two days ſince, excuſing, that the two paſſports remaining due to Denmark had been forgot, and promiſing to ſolicit their expedition by the firſt. But the laſt you ſent me for that crown, from Sweden, will not be accepted by their miniſter, giving that king the title of *Daniæ* only, without *Norwegiæ*, as the firſt Swediſh paſſports run; and it paſſed, though with ſome exception for want of an &c. but this is abſolutely refuſed: and I know not how ſuch difference or uncertainty

certainty has happened in the ſame matter, and from the ſame hand. You ſhall, by the next, receive the copies you order of all the paſſports that have not paſſed your hands; your letter being arrived too late for it by this ordinary.

I told you in my laſt of my preparing for my journey to Nimeguen, upon the ſeveral points enjoined me, as neceſſary to forming the congreſs, being now ſo near wound off. But as the inſtances of the French ambaſſadors there, as well as Sir Lionel Jenkins, preſs me to haſten that remove, ſo the miniſters of thoſe princes whoſe paſſports are not yet exchanged, preſs my ſtay till that matter is wholly ended; and the States are very deſirous to have the neutral country determined before I go. Between theſe two; as for the ſatisfaction of the firſt, I have given order for ſhipping away the beſt part of my hoſehould-ſtuff to-morrow; ſo I ſhall ſtay here myſelf till I receive his majeſty's orders in anſwer to my laſt. I deſire likewiſe to know his majeſty's pleaſure, whether upon my going to Nimeguen, he would have me leave a ſecretary here; or whether he think the buſineſs here, in my abſence, will require another hand.

I am promiſed the anſwer about the Jews at Surinam by the next; and ſhall not fail to ſend with it the ſtate of the merchant-adventurers company; ſo as this ſhall give you no farther trouble, than by the aſſurances of my being ever, Sir, your, &c.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

My Lord, Hague, June 24, N. S. 1676.

I HAVE, by ſome letters from my wife, received ſo great teſtimonies of your lordſhip's favour to me, that I find it as hard for me to make the acknowledgments that become me, as it would be to neglect them any longer: therefore I could not forbear engaging

your lordſhip in this trouble; though I have nothing elſe to bear me out, beſides the humble thanks I am to return your lordſhip, for concerning yourſelf ſo obligingly in what touched me ſo unjuſtly; and the aſſurances, that no man can be either more ſenſible of your favour, nor more reſolved to deſerve it by my ſervices, whenever they be worth your lordſhip's employing upon any occaſion.

I am endeavouring, as faſt as I can, to get looſe from hence, in order to my journey for Nimeguen; where we are like to enter into a wide ſea; and, though we ſhould ſteer the courſe his majeſty preſcribes us never ſo well, yet it will be a great deal ſubject to the winds that ſhall riſe from the humours of the ſeveral parties, and the tides that will run differently according to their ſucceſſes. The French have given, of late, all the facility they could to the congreſs, and made haſte to the place, as deſiring no better peace than upon the preſent plan of affairs. The confederates, eſpecially the houſe of Auſtria, are ſullen, as loſers uſe to be, and ſo in all the paces of the treaty are ſlow and reſty; hoping for ſomething from the campaign, which may make room for pretenſions that would hardly be in countenance as things ſtand at preſent. The Swede is earneſt for a peace, as having more hopes of recovering himſelf that way than by a war. This ſtate deſires it as much as any, and has no pretences of its own; but dares not break from their confederates, not truſting England enough, nor France at all, ſo as to depend upon either after the peace is made. Denmark and Brandenburgh are eager in the war; finding the Swedes weak, divided, and unrelievable by France any further than their money, and ſo hoping to drive them this ſummer out of Germany; which, for aught I ſee, they may endanger, if the concert of the confederates prove anſwerable to their ſtrength in thoſe parts.

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With theſe diſpoſitions the congreſs is to begin; but how it will end, muſt certainly depend, in a great meaſure, upon the ſucceſſes that will attend the campaign. The deſigns, at preſent, of the confederates ſeem to determine in the ſiege of Stratſonde in Pomerania; of Philipſburgh in Germany; and in Flanders upon that of Maeſtricht: and it will be hard if one of theſe does not occaſion a battle, which may be more deciſive than any ſiege.

I know your lordſhip has but too much ſhare in the trouble of my conſtant letters to Mr. Secretary Williamſon; and therefore I ſhall not give you any further interruption, than by the very unfeigned profeſſions of my being moſt paſſionately, and ever, my lord, your lordſhip's moſt faithful and moſt humble ſervant.

To the King.

Nimeguen, Sept. 2, N. S. 1676.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

THOUGH what we writ jointly this day of our conjecture, that ſome of the parties, perhaps, on each ſide, would this winter endeavour rather to fall into ſeparate meaſures with ſome of the parties than to advance a general peace, was grounded upon what Sir Lionel Jenkins told me he had obſerved in his late viſits and converſations with the French ambaſſadors, wherein they owned, very plainly, their hopes and expectation of breaking the force of the alliance this winter, by drawing off either the Dutch, or, at leaſt, ſome of the German princes; yet I thought fit to trouble your majeſty with ſome more particular obſervations of my own upon this ſubject, in diſcourſe more private with ſeveral of the parties, and which I have not communicated to any other. Monſieur Colbert, after much compliment to me the firſt month I was here, of his maſter's particular eſteem of me, and of his

his own believing that no man but I could make the peace, in regard of the intereſt he believed I had with the prince of Orange, and of the neceſſity there was of the houſe of Auſtria's complying with any meaſures the prince ſhould take; has lately deſcended into more particular diſcourſes, of the advantages the prince ſhall be ſure to find in a treaty with the king his maſter; of the convenience the prince would find in carrying it on privately with France, during the more public negotiations here; that the late duke of Bavaria did the ſame at the treaty of Munſter, and thereby was the perſon that made that peace, and at the ſame time eſtabliſhed his own intereſts with all the advantage he could propoſe himſelf; that the prince of Orange might act the ſame part here, and with the ſame ſucceſs both to the general peace and to himſelf; that he could negotiate it by no man ſo well as by me; and none could have a part of greater honour or advantage than mine would be in the conduct of ſuch an affair. I told him, upon this occaſion, the truth of what I thought concerning the prince and myſelf in this matter; which was, that though perhaps his highneſs would hear me talk to him, either of his general or particular intereſt, as ſoon as another man, yet I had never known that perſon who had *aucun pouvoir ſur non eſprit*: that your majeſty had found you had a great deal leſs than you had reaſon to expect, and that others had none at all, who pretended to have more than their ſhare: that, by what I knew of the prince's diſpoſitions, I much doubted the relief of Maeſtricht would not diſpoſe him to the peace: and that he would be loth to ſit down melancholy at the Hague with that thorn at his heart: that I heard he was *fort dépité* at preſent; but that, when the campaign ended, I ſhould have occaſion of ſeeing him, and ſhould then be ſure to know the bottom of his heart; which I ſhould acquaint your majeſty with,

and

and obſerve your directions upon it. Monſieur Colbert replied, that if the prince would by me have given them any private aſſurances, that the carrying of Maeſtricht would have diſpoſed him to the peace, he was ſure the king his maſter would willingly have given him the glory of it, and employed his army ſomewhere in Flanders; *mais qu'il ne falloit pas quitter le certain pour l'incertain*; that he believed the prince was in ill humour upon it, *mais que le temps le rameneroit*; and that he believed, that would not be before the end of the campaign.

I obſerved in ſome particular diſcourſes of monſieur Beverning, in a humour when we are apteſt to tell truth, that at leaſt, for his own part, he was extreme ill ſatisfied with the Spaniards, and with the war being purſued only for the intereſts of that crown, who contributed ſo little towards it: that he deſired the peace ſo much, as, if Spain would not be reaſonable in it, to wiſh for it without them. This, I know, is the ſenſe of the ſubſtantial part of the people in Holland as well as his; and whether the prince, and the perſons at preſent in the government, will be able, after this diſgrace at Maeſtricht, to keep the ſpirits there in temper enough to carry on the war another year, I cannot yet, or at this diſtance, take upon me to judge.

I have obſerved by my converſation with the Swediſh miniſters, both at the Hague and here, that they deſire a peace with more impatience than any of the parties; and ſo far, that, if they cannot have it general in a ſhort time, they would be glad of a particular one, either with Holland, or the duke of Brandenburgh. They do not think France conſiders them at all in proportion to the loſſes and misfortunes they have engaged them in: and one of their ambaſſadors told me, he did not believe *que les affaires fuſſent encore dans l'aſſiette que la France demandoit, ni qu'il eſtoit neceſſaire pour leur faire tout de bon ſoubaiter la paix*

générale. He ſaid this a little myſteriouſly, making me believe, he had already particular reaſon to think ſo, but ſhould, in a little time, know more, and would then in confidence acquaint me with it.

I doubt it will be neceſſary for me, in the courſe of this affair, ſometimes to give your majeſty ſome ſuch accounts as this, of what may paſs to me in particular confidence from ſome of the miniſters, either by force of old acquaintances, or any other motions they ſhall find towards it; and, poſſibly, they may give your majeſty more light than the more open paces here. But if your majeſty will avoid the trouble, and appoint any other perſon, to whom I ſhall addreſs ſuch diſpatches, I ſhall not farther preſume to give your majeſty theſe interruptions; but content myſelf with your majeſty's pardon for what is paſt, and with your juſtice in believing and accepting that inviolable truth and devotion wherewith I am, and ſhall be ever, Sir, your majeſty's moſt loyal ſubject and ſervant,

W. TEMPLE.

To the King.

Nimeguen, Sept. 20, N. S. 1676.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

UPON the prince's return from the army, he was pleaſed to write me a letter, giving me notice of it, and deſiring me to meet him at his houſe near Utrecht, which I did on Thurſday laſt. I ſtaid two days with his highneſs, and had very large diſcourſes with him upon the events of the preſent campaign and appearances of the treaty. As to my own part in them I ſhall only ſay, that they were all applied to thoſe ends and in that method, which I thought moſt agreeable to your majeſty's intentions, and to the ſeveral inſtructions I have had the honour to receive from your majeſty, or by your order, upon this ſubject. The

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ſubſtance of all his highneſs's diſcourſe I ſhall ſum up in as few and as ſhort heads as I can for your majeſty's eaſe.

He expreſſed great ſenſe of the misfortune of this campaign, and ſaid, he knew very well, *Le malheur de ſon poſte, où pendant que les autres faiſoient les fautes, c'eſtoit à luy de ſouffrir la honte.* When I told him, that was too hard an expreſſion, and that no body thought he deſerved, he repeated it again, and ſaid, It muſt be ſo in the opinion of all the world, but only ſome few who knew the inſide of the buſineſs: that he ſaw no remedy for it with the preſent conduct of Spain, nor with ſuch men as they employed in Flanders: that ſome of them were loth to venture the army, and ſome as loth to venture themſelves, and others knew not how to do either *à propos*: that I might very well think, however, that he had no mind to ſit down with the diſgrace of ſuch a campaign; and that if the Spaniards could but garriſon their towns, ſo as to make any defence in form, he would yet hope he might have his revenge another year, by truſting to no army but his own.

When I aſk, whether he thought the States were in humour, or the country in conditions to go on with the war? he ſaid, He would not diſſemble it, they had a horrible mind to the peace; but ſo they had for theſe two laſt years: that they were, however, able to go on with it, eſpecially if they were eaſed of their ſubſidies to the allies, and would be inſenſibly engaged in it, as they had been theſe two laſt campaigns, if they could not have a peace with ſome honour and ſafety.

When I took notice of his little inclinations to any ſudden peace, he ſaid, on the contrary, he had a mind to it, and that no intereſts of his own ſhould delay it; but that he could not tell how to come by it (which words, I remember, he ſpoke in Engliſh): that he

he would deal plainly with me as to his own thoughts; that though a congreſs was neceſſary, yet, he believed, we could not hope to make a peace here in leſs than about four years: that he was of opinion, if your majeſty would have it this winter, you muſt make it yourſelf, by telling all the parties upon what terms you expected and thought reaſonable it ſhould be made: that if you would do this, you muſt at leaſt employ more private negotiations towards it, and firſt ſound France to the bottom, inſtead of ſounding him (the prince); and this for two reaſons: firſt, becauſe France was ſingle, and maſter of their own reſolutions, which he was not; and though he could anſwer for himſelf, yet he could not for thoſe he was engaged with: next, becauſe if his highneſs or Spain ſhould firſt declare themſelves upon the conditions of a general peace, France might very well make uſe of it, towards breaking their alliance, or the confidence of it, which they could not do towards France, which had no other ally but the Swede, and him but every little conſidered either in the peace or the war.

When I would have entered into ſome diſcourſe of conditions the moſt apparent for the peace, he ſaid, That, upon the whole, he did not believe, in the preſent poſture of affairs, France could poſſibly be brought to ſuch terms as it was poſſible for the allies to accept, nor was it reaſonable to think or to hope they ſhould after ſuch a campaign as had paſſed in Flanders: but it was not yet ended in Alſace, nor perhaps in Flanders neither; for though he would not go into the field again to do nothing, yet, if there ſhould happen a good occaſion, he would be gone again at half an hour's warning: that, however this campaign ſhould end with France, it was like to paſs well enough againſt the Swedes; and as they had already eighteen thouſand men of the Lunenburgh and Munſter troops by the conqueſt of Bremen; ſo they hoped to have thirty thouſand

thouſand more next campaign, if the Swedes were beaten out of Pomerania, which was not unlikely yet before the year ended.

He ſaid, we muſt talk over this matter again when the campaign was done, and that we ſhould then know better what to ſay upon it: that it would be neceſſary for me to come ſometimes to the Hague, and to that end adviſed me to get leave to do it whenever I ſaw occaſion. I told his highneſs, that I had it already, and ſhould make uſe of it whenever his highneſs thought it neceſſary, and would let me know it, as well as upon any other occaſions of your majeſty's ſervice there.

I remember no more to trouble your majeſty with out of all our diſcourſes upon this matter. There was one thing more his highneſs ſaid, which, I think, will be fit to tell your majeſty, though he might not intend it. He told me, he had received a letter from your majeſty, in anſwer to that he ſent by my wife; that you had refuſed him leave to go over into England before the peace, and with terms ſomething hardiſh (which were his Engliſh words); that he thought it was fit to take an anſwer when your majeſty gave it him; and therefore he ſhould trouble you no more about it: that your majeſty beſt knew when you thought was a fit time for him to do it, and, he ſuppoſed, would let him know it, ſince, it ſeems, he did not himſelf.

I cannot but add one word of an advice of another kind, and from another hand, becauſe it was new to me, and looked conſiderable. Upon diſcourſe with count Oxenſterne, about the court of Vienna (where he had been lately ambaſſador) he told me, the emperor was ſo infirm, that it was not believed he could ever have children that would live; that this being foreſeen, he found among the miniſters there, that it was reſolved, in caſe of his dying without ſons, to leave the whole ſucceſſion of the duchy of Auſtria and its dependencies to the duke of Lorrian, with condition

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to marry the emperor's ſiſter, and by this means to make way for his being emperor, which he did not believe there would be any difficulty in, eſpecially when ſuch an accident ſhould find him in the head of the Imperial army.

I humbly beg your majeſty's pardon for this long interruption, and your acceptance of that humble and hearty devotion wherewith I am, and ſhall be ever, Sir, your majeſty's moſt loyal and moſt obedient ſubject and ſervant,

W. TEMPLE.

To the King.

Nimeguen, October 19, N. S. 1676.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

I Cannot better acknowledge the honour of receiving your majeſty's particular commands, than by aſſuring your majeſty of the infinite ſatisfaction I ſhall have in obeying them. I do not remember, that the reflections I made upon my laſt diſcourſe with the prince, went ſo far as what your majeſty is pleaſed to make upon them in your laſt letter. I did not conclude upon all which paſt, that he had a mind to continue the war; but rather, that he was unreſolved between the deſires of repairing his honour by another campaign, and the fears of being more in ſuch company as he is joined with in Flanders. But though his diſpoſitions ſeemed doubtful, yet his judgment was indeed very poſitive, that the peace would not be made this winter, unleſs your majeſty undertook it, by advancing ſome propoſitions of your own towards it: he concluded, that we ſhould talk it over again after the campaign ſhould be ended on all ſides: and, indeed, the winter quarters of the Imperial armies, where-ever they fall, will open the proſpect into the next year's events more than any thing that has paſſed this ſummer: for if the French can maintain a defenſive war

in Alſace another campaign, I believe they will take St. Omer's, Cambray, or Valenciennes (if not two or all of them) in ſpight of all the Dutch and Spaniſh forces will be able to do in Flanders, unleſs a very great change happen in their conduct or fortune. But if the German armies ſhould enter into France, that crown may, perhaps, have work enough on that ſide, and be thereby forced to call away ſo many of their troops out of Flanders, as to leave the prince of Orange an eaſy campaign there. This, I find, the French ambaſſadors here apprehend, in caſe the Swede be wholly beaten out of Germany this ſeaſon, and the alliance continues united and vigorous another year. And monſieur Beverning, after all his *fanfares* about a ſeparate peace (which your majeſty will meet with in two of our joint letters by the laſt and this ordinary) ſeems too public and affected to mean much more, than to induce the emperor into thoſe meaſures: for, after he had talked himſelf ſober with me upon that whole ſubject, he ſaid at laſt, in plain terms, that if the Germans would let Briſac alone, and enter into France next ſpring, the States would not make the peace this year; and that they had already taken their meaſures, and found they could go on with the war another campaign, and with the ſame forces they had this laſt, or ſomething greater, if there were a good occaſion.

He intends to go again into Holland about the 10th of next month, when the next aſſembly will be of the States of Holland, at which time the councels and meaſures are uſually taken for the enſuing year, and always for the chief expence of it, as near as it can be then foreſeen. I hope my lord Berkeley will by that time be here, and then I ſhall take an occaſion of going again to the prince; and ſhall, I ſuppoſe, be able at ſo critical a time, to make a clearer judgment of what your majeſty may hope from him, as to the peace;

peace; and neglect no endeavours to give his highneſs thoſe impreſſions which are not only agreeable with your majeſty's intentions, but, in my opinion, with his own intereſts too, in the poſture he ſtands with friends and enemies, both at home and abroad. I ſhall then give your majeſty a full account of what diſpoſitions or motions I find at the Hague, which the French ambaſſadors ſay, upon all occaſions, muſt chiefly govern what paſſes here. In the mean time, I ſhall only beg your majeſty's pardon for this interruption, and your juſtice in believing me what I ſhall ever be, with the greateſt devotion and truth, Sir, your majeſty's moſt loyal and moſt obedient ſubject and ſervant,

W. TEMPLE.

To the Prince of Orange.

Nimeguen, Octob. 31, N. S. 1676.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

I Received lately a letter from his majeſty, dated at Newmarket the 8th of this month, and in anſwer to the account I gave him of your highneſs's diſcourſes with me at Soeſdyke, and your opinions that his majeſty propoſing the terms of a peace to the parties will be the only way of making it. His majeſty ſays upon it, that he doubts your highneſs has a mind to continue the war, which he is ſorry for; becauſe, as it is conducted by your allies, he fears you will not find your account in it; and aſſures me, one of the great motives he has for the peace, is the belief that your highneſs will be the better for it; that it has ever been his endeavour, and is ſo ſtill, to oblige France to declare itſelf to him upon what terms they will be content to make the peace; but if they will not, it muſt take the forms which the congreſs here will give it; and if that will not bring it to paſs, his majeſty muſt content himſelf with having done what he could towards it, according to the figure he has taken of the com-

common mediator. Upon another ſubject his majeſty ſays, he is glad to underſtand from me, that your highneſs is of opinion, you muſt learn from his majeſty the time of your going over into England, which is not yet proper for it; but when it ſhall be ſo, he ſhall be as glad to ſee you, as you can with yourſelf.

I have given your highneſs the king's own words in what I have written, between two marks, and intended to have given you a larger account of it myſelf at the Hague before this, if my lord Berkeley had come hither ſo ſoon as we were made to believe: it cannot be long before he arrives; and will not be long after, I hope, before I ſhall have the honour of kiſſing your highneſs's hands, and ending the diſcourſe we began at Soeſdyke. In the mean time, I am with great thanks to acknowledge the very great favour which my wife ſays, your highneſs is pleaſed to offer, of lodging me at the Hague, and may very well take your highneſs at your word, if the weather and my health continue ill, as they have been of late.

I ſend your highneſs incloſed a letter I received from Mr. Sidney, which came not ſooner, becauſe, as I found by another, he had great diſputes with his father before he would give this anſwer. I am very ſorry for it; but ſince you find the lieutenant colonel ſo very capable, I hope it will be no loſs. In caſe he has the regiment, major Archer has begged of me to mention him to your highneſs, for the lieutenant colonel's place, which I ſhould not do, but that I remember your highneſs expreſſed a very good opinion of him; and I find by him, that he cannot (as he ſays) poſſibly live in the regiment he is with Fenwick and Weaſly. I hear this laſt is endeavouring to turn out one captain Knight for having been a friend to major Archer in ſome of their quarrels; I humbly beg your highneſs to ſuſpend any ſuch reſolution till I have the honour of ſeeing you. I am ever, with

perfect

perfect truth and devotion, Sir, your highneſs's moſt obedient and moſt humble ſervant,

W. TEMPLE.

To Mr. Secretary Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, January 5, N. S. 1677.

SINCE my laſt, the day after my arrival here, I endeavoured to ſpeak with the penſioner upon thoſe matters relating to this embaſſy, and ſtill remaining without any anſwer, or, at leaſt, diſpatch. After having twice excuſed himſelf upon his indiſpoſition, at length he gave me an hour; and I found him in the poſture of a ſick man, complaining of *une fievre lente*, and weakneſs upon the loſs of very much blood; which, he ſaid, was all *ſanguis aduſtus*. Which I repeat from his own mouth, as expreſſions that, compared to other circumſtances of our converſation, made me conclude his illneſs to be at leaſt as much of mind as of body; and derived, perhaps, from the fatigue and chagrin of his buſineſs, rather than his ill conſtitution; though ſomething of that be natural to him.

I firſt complained of the States delay, not only in the ſatisfaction, but even in the anſwer, due to two of his majeſty's letters, upon the buſineſs of the three Scots miniſters, which I took to be clear in the words of the treaty, and ſubject to no diſpute or evaſion. He confeſſed, it might look like a neglect in the States, not to anſwer the letters they had received from his majeſty; but they had delayed it in hopes his majeſty might have been ſatisfied with the reaſons their ambaſſadors in England had been charged to repreſent on that ſubject; and they were unwilling it ſhould appear by their letter, either that his majeſty demanded a thing of them by virtue of a treaty, which they did not think the treaty obliged them to; or that any of the king's ſubjects, who were, or ſhould be hereafter

baniſhed

baniſhed by his majeſty, might from their letter take occaſion to hope for refuge in theſe countries. But if I would enter into the debate of this matter at a conference with the States commiſſioners, and ſhould not be ſatisfied with their reaſons, but deſire them in writing, they would either give them me to repreſent to his majeſty, or elſe they would comprehend them in a letter to his majeſty, in anſwer of thoſe they had received from him.

I ſaid, I was reſolved to enter upon this matter, and ſee the bottom of it while I was here; but hoped they would upon it be ſo far ſatisfied with the clearneſs of the caſe, as to anſwer his majeſty's demand rather by compliance than reaſons: and ſo we reſolved to attend two or three days, in hopes he might at that time aſſiſt at the conference, ſince he deſired it; and I knew very well, nothing would be done to any purpoſe without it. I found, however, that the ſtreſs of their pretenſions will lie in the difference between perſons baniſhed, and either rebels or fugitives who are named in the articles. For the penſioner thinks his majeſty may declare any of his ſubjects rebels or fugitives; and ſuch a declaration is enough (being ſignified to the States) to ground the demand now made. But when a prince or ſtate baniſheth any man, they thereby declare him to be a ſubject no longer; and have not afterwards power to declare him rebel or fugitive, eſpecially if he have offered himſelf to the law; as two of theſe men, he ſaid, did, and did not fly their country, but by ſentence were forced to do it. But the iſſue of this matter I muſt refer to our conference, as likewiſe that of the Dort company, and the ſhips Thomas and John, which were recommended in your laſt to my care.

When theſe diſcourſes had paſſed, the penſioner aſked me, whether I had brought them the peace from

Nimeguen? and I replied, ſince he was ſo ignorant of what had paſſed there, I would tell him, that they had carried their matters there *en habiles gens*: that to bring their allies to the congreſs they had pretended to treat by the firſt of November, whether they came or no: that after the day they had found fault with the powers; offered at new; made the mediators courſe from the one to the other; ſpun out two months time in theſe paces, and thereby were gotten in ſight of both Spaniſh and Imperial miniſters, which, I ſuppoſed, was the thing they always intended.

He anſwered me, with ſomething in his face both ſerious and ſad, that either I did not know the courſe of their affairs here, ſince I left the Hague, or elſe I would not ſeem to know them: that they deſired the peace from their hearts, and not only ſo, but thought it abſolutely neceſſary: that they would certainly have entered into the treaty, if the French had either brought powers in form to be admitted, or obliged themſelves to procure new ones. I ſaid, I believed him, and that they could have found no better way to bring their allies to the congreſs.

He replied, *Je vous dirai donc encore, que nous n'inſiſterons pas ſur une paix ſelon les pretenſions de nos alliés, & ne vous réponds pas que nous ne la ferons même ſéparée.* I ſaid, it was at leaſt a matter of that moment, that, I believed, they would think of it before they did it.

With this, he drew his chair up cloſer to me, and begun, with great earneſtneſs, a very long diſcourſe upon this whole matter; ſaying firſt, That they had thought enough of it already; and for his part, he was grown, by thinking much, to conclude it was without remedy: that they had great obligations to Spain, for entering into the war to ſave this country, but therein to ſave Flanders too; but they had made no ill return by continuing the war now three years

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only for the intereſts of Spain, ſince there remained nothing of conſequence between France and them: that they had, beſides, engaged to carry it on this following year, with the ſame number of forces they did the laſt; and ſo they would, if their allies had performed their parts; but for Spain, they took no care, but only to let them ſee they were reſolved to periſh: that they ſent their fleets home from Sicily without any of the payments agreed for, and left them to be paid by the States here at their arrival: that not a penny could be got of 300,000 guilders they owed them for carriages and proviſions the laſt campaign, and which was deſigned for their magazines in Flanders againſt the next: that they had repreſented to Spain the abſolute neceſſity of keeping ſo many forces in Flanders as would defend their towns while the prince took the field, which he was content to do with the army of this State; but not a word of anſwer: that they had then deſired Spain to receive ſo many of the forces of their allies, as might ſerve to defend their places; but, inſtead of this, they drove them out of their country: that, for the emperor, they had always told him, unleſs his army would march into France, or give a battle, Flanders could not be defended laſt year, nor this next, unleſs his forces took up their winter quarters in Alſatia, or that ſide of the Rhine; but at Vienna, they conſidered Flanders as much as the Dutch do Hungary; and becauſe the Imperial officers could make greater advantages of winter quarters in Germany, than in ſuch a harraſſed country as Alſatia, their armies muſt return this winter, and thereby loſe all the advantages that might have been made of the laſt campaign: that for want of magazines in Flanders, two or three of the beſt frontier towns would be loſt next year before the Imperialiſts could poſſibly take the field; and if Cambray, Va-

lenciennes, and Mons were gone, all the reſt would certainly revolt, conſidering the miſeries they had already ſuffered, and muſt ſtill, by a longer war: that either the prince could not be ſoon enough in the field to prevent it, or elſe he would not be able to ſubſiſt for want of magazines, and the country's being like to be deſerted and waſte by this buſineſs of contributions unſettled; or elſe he would not be ſtrong enough to venture a battle, or raiſe a ſiege, conſidering how weak the Spaniards would be, how poorly their towns would be defended, and how ſtrong France would come on that ſide into the field while they had no enemy upon the Rhine: that the prince's friends could never ſuffer him to go into the field only to ſee towns taken under his noſe, and, perhaps, the whole country loſt while he was expected to defend it, and rendered uncapable of doing it by the faults of the Spaniards, who yet would lay it to his charge, and be the firſt to reproach him; which would be done likewiſe by his enemies at home, and ill-willers abroad, who would be glad of the occaſion.

In the mean time, from France they could have whatever conditions they pretended, either as to the reſtoring of Maeſtricht, or the *reglement* of commerce, or the advantages of the prince; and as to this laſt, all they could deſire: that they had letters every week from the mareſchal d'Eſtrades upon this ſubject, and from other hands: and, for his own part, though he ſhould fall into it with regret, yet he did not ſee what elſe was to be done; and he did not know one man in Holland that was not of the ſame mind.

This long diſcourſe ended with ſaying, that he did not talk to me like an ambaſſador, but a friend, and one whoſe opinion he eſteemed: that he diſcovered to me *leur fort, & leur foible*; and would be glad to know what elſe I thought they could do *dans l'accable-*

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ment de cet état par une ſi longue guerre, and all the circumſtances that now attend it both from their friends and their enemies.

I gave him thanks for the confidence he expreſſed towards me; but deſired to be excuſed for giving my counſel or opinion to a perſon who was ſo able to take meaſures for the State and for himſelf.' But I deſired to know what he reckoned would become of Flanders after this State had made a ſeparate peace? He replied, that it would be loſt either in one ſummer or two; but more probably in one: for, he believed, the towns of Cambray, Valenciennes, Namur, and Mons, might be taken in one campaign; or, if Valenciennes were only taken on that ſide, Cambray would be out of care, and muſt fall of itſelf: that after this, none of the great towns would offer at defending themſelves, unleſs it were Antwerp; and for that perhaps ſome meaſures might be taken with France.

I aſked him, how he reckoned this State was to live with France, after Flanders was wholly loſt? and and whether he thought it would not be perfectly at diſcretion?

He ſaid, if they could hope to ſave Flanders by continuing the war, they would not think of a ſeparate peace; but if they ſaw it muſt be loſt by one as well as the other, they thought it beſt by the laſt; which would not only leſs exhauſt the State, but be leſs diſhonour to the prince too: that after Flanders was loſt, they would live ſo with France, that they ſhould find it more for their profit to preſerve this State than to deſtroy it: that he knew very well, it was not a thing to be choſen; but they ſhould be forced to it, as men are ſometimes to deſperate remedies: that they had long hoped ſome reſource from better conduct in the Spaniſh affairs: that they had believed ſome impreſſions of the German army in France itſelf might have brought the buſineſs *à un accomodement raiſonnable*:

that he, for his own part, had ever believed England itſelf would cry halt at one ſtep or other; and if they would be content to ſee half Flanders loſt, yet they would not ſee it all; and the ſame of Sicily: that the king had the peace in his hands for theſe two years paſt, and might have made it when he pleaſed, and upon what conditions he thought fit: that for their parts, monſieur Van Beuninghen had deſired his majeſty to ſay whatever he would have in it, and that this State would endeavour it upon any terms his majeſty propoſed; but that he could never get one word of anſwer: that he had full power to make any ſort of alliance with his majeſty that he deſired; but nothing of that neither: that he confeſſed it was true, *cuncta prius tentanda*; but he found at length it was *immedicabile vulnus*; and he ſaw nothing left for them to do, but a ſeparate peace: that he underſtood very well what I meant by aſking how they were to live with France after the loſs of Flanders; but he had caſt up that too: that, firſt, *la viſée de la France ſera plûtôt ſur l'Allemagne ou ſur l'Italie, que ſur eux*: that, in the next place, he knew it would not be their intereſt to conquer or deſtroy this State, but could make better uſes by preſerving it in a dependence upon them: that the king had ſeen their country, and underſtood it ſo; and had ſaid upon all occaſions ſince, that he had rather have them for his friends, than his ſubjects: that for their religion, which he had as much at heart as any man, he did not fear any thing in that from France neither; that the king was not *ſi coiffé de ſa religion*, as thereby to loſe any intereſts of his State, and he knew very well that any force or change in religion here would quickly deſtroy the trade, and thereby the ſea forces of this country, which he might make better uſe of, than if it were left *un grand marécage*: but at laſt, if their State muſt fall in four-and-twenty hours, it were better for them to defer it to

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the laſt; and that it ſhould happen at night rather than at noon.

All this was diſcourſed with ſo much earneſtneſs, that I was afraid it had done him hurt; and, indeed, it left him not in condition nor breath to go on with a longer converſation. And ſo, having ſaid it was not a matter to be reſolved between us two, and that I wiſhed him health enough to go through the thoughts and buſineſs of ſo great a conjuncture, I left him.

The next morning I went to the prince; and after ſome common talk, I told him, I had ſeen the penſioner, and aſked, whether his highneſs knew what diſcourſe had paſſed between us? He ſaid, No, he had not ſeen him ſince; and aſked me what it was? I repeated ſeveral heads of it, and ſaid, it all concluded in the neceſſity of this State's making a ſeparate peace; and that he ſaid, there was not one man in Holland againſt it. The prince interrupted me, and ſaid, 'Yes, 'I am ſure, I know one, and that is myſelf; and I 'will hinder it as long as I can: but if any thing ſhould 'happen to me, they will do it in two days time.' I aſked his highneſs, whether he was of the penſioner's opinion in what was likely to happen next year in Flanders? He ſaid, the appearances were ill; but campaigns did not always end as they began: that ſome accidents might happen, which no man could foreſee, and if a battle ſhould be given, none could anſwer for the event. After this, and two or three little things he ſaid about our indifference in what became either of the peace, or of Flanders, his highneſs roſe up as if he did not care for going on farther with the diſcourſe; and ſo broke it off.

I have been very exact in the account of all theſe paſſages, the introductions to them, and often the very words (which I have marked) becauſe I believe them the true repreſentations of the preſent diſpoſitions here in this matter of a ſeparate peace; that is, the people

in general, the towns, the States are all bent upon it, from an extreme diſlike of their allies conduct, both in the treaty and the war. But the prince alone, upon whoſe honour the allies have wholly relied in all their negotiations with this State, is not yet able to digeſt it; and being equally apprehenſive of the diſhonour may befall him, either by ſeparating from his allies by a peace, or purſuing the war in conjunction with Spain (whoſe weakneſs and ill conduct will make the faults, of which he muſt, in common opinion, bear the blame) he is certainly, at this time, moſt extremely deſirous of a general peace, and will not only go into it in ſuch ways as his majeſty ſhall think the moſt expedient, but will take it the kindeſt in the world, if his majeſty ſhould think fit to uſe his offices with France, ſo as to bring it about with honour to his highneſs, in ſome moderate ſatisfaction to his allies.

If his majeſty interpoſeth no further than by the bare and formal offices of his mediation at the place of treaty, and the Auſtrians hold off, as they have hitherto done, I ſuppoſe the French and Dutch ambaſſadors at Nimeguen will fall into ſeparate, and, perhaps, private negotiations of the differences between them; which, I gueſs (from the diſpoſitions I can obſerve on both ſides) will be very ſoon and eaſily adjuſted: and then the Dutch will be ready to clap up a ſeparate peace in two days time, whenever they grow more out of patience at the ſlowneſs and unſincereneſs of their allies in the general treaty; or more apprehenſive of diſhonour and ill ſucceſs in the war; or when theſe or any other circumſtances ſhall bring the prince to fall into the ſame opinion with the States upon this matter.

Monſieur Colbert hath in many and particular diſcourſes, beſides others from the mareſchal d'Eſtrades, told me ſo much of their deſires to enter into this matter of ſeparate negotiations and meaſures with the prince and this State; of the eaſineſs they ſhould find in points

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of commerce, and advantages his highneſs ſhould receive by it to himſelf, both in the treaty, and in the courſe of the king their maſter's friendſhip hereafter, that, I ſuppoſe, there can occur no difficulty of that ſide, whenever it grows full ripe on this. And therefore, I preſume, the knowledge of all theſe circumſtances would be neceſſary for his majeſty's information, in ſo great and ſo nice a conjuncture; and more particularly ſo, for his inſtructions to us, as to our conduct at Nimeguen, whenever we meet with ſuch motions there, as are likely to ariſe from ſuch diſpoſitions here.

I beg your pardon for ſo long a trouble, and one word, if you pleaſe, of the incloſed by laſt poſt from hence being delivered to his majeſty, and your belief of my being always, Sir, your moſt faithful, humble ſervant.

To Mr. Secretary Coventry.

SIR, Hague, January 8, N. S. 1677.

I Am to acknowledge the honour of one from you of the 5th paſt, ſince which time I found it neceſſary for me to make a turn hither, both from a letter of the prince which deſired it, and ſome buſineſs relating to this ambaſſy that required a diſpatch; and, alſo, that, in ſuch a conjuncture, I might be perfectly informed how the game was like to play, which could be known no where but here, nor, indeed, by other hands than thoſe I deal with; which are the prince and the penſioner. You will have known from my diſpatch laſt ordinary, all I am like to know upon the ſubject of a general or ſeparate peace; and I find by Sir Lionel Jenkins's letter this day to me, that he is fallen upon the ſcent of this laſt at Nimeguen, ſince I came away; and likewiſe, that he has received ſome letters from court ſince I left him; which looks as if you had apprehended it there already, and given ſome

orders in a late letter about our conduct in the cafe, by way of proteſtation, which he ſeems much in pain about, and deſires my help in, without having ſent me any copy of Mr. Secretary Williamſon's letter upon that ſubject; ſo that I can make no judgment at all of the thing, how it is given us in charge. But if it ſhould be, as I apprehend by his letter, that in caſe we find a ſeparate peace between France and Holland, concluding or concluded at Nimeguen, without our communication, we ſhould proteſt publickly againſt it in his majeſty's name, I do not well underſtand to what purpoſe ſuch a thing can be intended. If we diſlike the thing, and it appear to ſanguine men at court as dangerous as to melancholy men in the country, we may endeavour to prevent it; but if it be once concluded, our proteſtations can, in my opinion, ſerve only to irritate the parties, and bind them faſter together by the apprehenſion of our being angry at them both, and at their conjunction. Nor can I well ſee, either what ground ſuch a proteſtation can have, any more than what effect; for the parties have not obliged themſelves to his majeſty upon his mediation of a general peace, either that they will not treat without his mediation, nor ſeparately; or, if they had, the ſame intereſts that force them to break through ſo many obligations to their allies would make them as bold with thoſe to a mediator. Beſides, I obſerved in monſieur Colbert's exceptions to our form of powers, he ſaid, there was one eſſential default in the very diſpoſitive, which was, the omiſſion of that clauſe, that they might treat with the adverſe miniſters, either with or without the intervention of the mediators: and ſo we may certainly reckon they will do, when intereſt leads them to it.

I am forced to trouble you with this diſcourſe, having received this letter from Sir Lionel Jenkins ſince I cloſed mine this night to Mr. Secretary Williamſon. I know

know not whether what I have ſaid be at all to the purpoſe, becauſe it is very likely I may have miſapprehended the late inſtructions ſent us over, which are mentioned very ſhort in my colleague's letter to me. Beſides, I am the apter to think I may be miſtaken, becauſe I remember, upon our deſiring inſtructions two months ſince, how to conduct ourſelves in caſe of ſeparate treaties, we had no anſwer given us upon it. And I will tell you, that not only the allies are of opinion, that we would promote it; but the prince himſelf ſeems to believe, we would be glad of it; though I aſſure him, all our inſtructions run quite contrary, and impower us only to perform our offices towards the general peace.

I am ever, with the eſteem and truth that become me, Sir, your, &c.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

My Lord, Hague, January 8, N. S. 1677.

UPON the incident of a letter juſt now from my colleague Sir Lionel Jenkins, concerning ſome inſtructions he had received ſince I left him in relation to a ſeparate peace, I thought it neceſſary to write the incloſed to Mr. Secretary Coventry, having already cloſed my pacquet to Mr. Secretary Williamſon; and our inſtructions commanding us to correſpond with the ſecretaries of ſtate; ſo as all advices of importance are neceſſarily addreſſed to one of them for our diſcharge.

However, I thought what I had written fit to be preſented to your lordſhip as early as I could, in hopes you will give your hand towards our full inſtructions in his majeſty's mind upon this matter. For my part, if I apprehend right what Sir Lionel Jenkins writes to me about a proteſtation, I cannot underſtand the drift of ſuch a counſel, nor why one ſhould be angry, when

one

one hurts nobody but one's ſelf. To prevent the thing may be a wiſe and neceſſary counſel, and in which his majeſty's meaning ought to have been ſignified early, where it was likely to be of moment to that end; but if the thing ſhould be done, I cannot imagine either how to ground our offence, or ſeek our revenge, and it would be to ſtay till we ſtruck, and then truſt to crying out; whereas, for aught I know, it were better to anger either of the parties before a ſeparate peace, than both of them afterwards; and if we muſt ſtrain any points of courteſy with them, to do it rather by making a fair and general peace, than by complaining and proteſting againſt a ſeparate one.

I beg your lordſhip's pardon for this trouble, and your juſtice in believing me ever, my lord, your, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, January 12, N. S. 1677.

I HAVE received the honour of yours of the 26th paſt, with a copy of another of the ſame date to the plenipotentiaries at Nimeguen; for which I humbly thank you. As to what concerns the points depending here, I can add little more than what I writ laſt; but that I have received aſſurance that the States will give ſudden order for the returning of the money, and ſecurity given the maſter of the Thomas and John taken by a Dutch man of war from a Dunkirk caper: and this they will do upon the aſſurance I gave them (from his majeſty's letters) of the like procedure on our ſide towards them in like caſes.

All I have left, is, the affair of the three Scots miniſters, which muſt be brought to a conference; and that the penſioner's illneſs will not yet ſuffer him to aſſiſt at, ſince it muſt be at my houſe, and he has not yet ſtirred abroad, but is ſomething better to-day, ſo as to give me hopes it may be to-morrow, or Thurſday; if not,

not, I will have it on Friday without him, and drive it as far as it will go. His illneſs begins to be apprehended by many, being a continual, though ſlow fever, and would extremely diſconcert the meaſures of this State, if any thing of ill ſhould happen to him. Don Emanuel de Lyra, who has abſented himſelf from his poſt here for near three months, upon the ſhame of appearing without money for the fleet from Sicily, and that to Denmark laſt year, and the want whereof would have endangered ſome trouble at Amſterdam, if the ſhips from Sicily had been able to come in before the froſt, writes now word from Bruſſels, that he is preparing to come away immediately; and that he ſhall do it with leſs regret and ſhame, being poſſeſſed of the money due *por el Mediterraneo, y el Baltico, y ſin Gaſconado*; which are the words of his letter, and have ſo much credit with the prince and the States, that they take it for a thing done: and it was high time. The prince tells me, he thinks the remiſes come by laſt ordinary to Bruſſels are of two millions and a half of crowns, but that more is expected.

The Daniſh miniſter preſſes very much for money, ſhips, and men here; but I believe they will go hard from this State; who pretend the Danes may content themſelves with their new conqueſts, and the Spaniſh ſubſidies, towards carrying on the war. I know not whether they reckon well; for, however the laſt action in Schonen paſſed, or however it be told, I look upon it as very advantageous to the Swedes; not only by gaining their point in the relief of Malmoe, but alſo by being left maſters of the field in that province. And though the loſs may have been equal on both ſides; or, perhaps, greater on the Swedes, yet I take that crown to have much greater reſources than Denmark, both in bodies of men of their own natives, and in the moneys from France; whereas Denmark will find very hard to repair the loſs of their foot in this

battle

battle without levies from Germany, which will coſt more money than they can well furniſh without the ſubſidies agreed both from this State and Spain.

I intend to get away from hence as ſoon as poſſibly I can, upon the preſſing inſtances made me from my lord ambaſſador Jenkins, as well as from monſieur Colbert and Beverning; but, chiefly, from the great embarraſs that you will find fallen upon the buſineſs of the aſſembly, by the irregular demarches of count Kinſki, whereof I have been this day acquainted, by copy of the joint letter that goes to you with this ordinary; which, if they proceed one pace farther, as it ſeems he intends, muſt of neceſſity break all communication between the Imperial and French ambaſſadors, and, conſequently, give a ſtop to the progreſs of any general treaty. Sir Lionel Jenkins preſſes me ſo earneſtly to give him my advice by to-morrow's pacquet, what to do in caſe they receive a ſecond and more formal notification from count Kinſki of his arrival, in order to a ſecond viſit of ceremony, that I cannot avoid giving my opinion upon it; ſince the caſe is like to happen before he can receive directions from you.

I think they are to uſe all endeavours poſſible to divert count Kinſki from this reſolution: firſt, becauſe it is contrary to the ſtyle hitherto uſed by all ambaſſadors in the congreſs. Secondly, becauſe our viſiting the count a ſecond time in form will be to give him a new honour, which has not been pretended by or given to any other ambaſſador. Thirdly, becauſe upon this practice the French will certainly make him no viſit, as receiving from him but half the honour which he will have done, not only to the mediators, but to the ambaſſadors of all the allies, by two formal notifications. Fourthly, becauſe the mediators have already declared to him, as well as to the French, their own opinion in the caſe; and if any thing at all

be

be allowed to a mediator, it is regulating ſuch matters of form as theſe. My laſt reaſon concerns the honour of the mediation, and ſo muſt be private among us; which is, that a preference has been declaredly given to the mediators by count Kinſki in the firſt notification, which, it ſeems, is not like to be taken care of in the ſecond.

To gain this point of count Kinſki, it will be, perhaps, neceſſary to employ the offices of the Dutch ambaſſadors, as well as the foregoing reaſons; and, poſſibly, to tell him one of greater weight than all the reſt, which is, that if the miniſters of Auſtria retard the progreſs of the aſſembly by any of theſe motions, contrary to the uſual ſtile and form, it will be interpreted as a new and affected delay; and the end of that will be, to drive the Dutch into private negotiations, or ſeparate treaties; whereas the only way to keep them cloſe to a general peace were, for the Auſtrians to expreſs all facility towards it that others have done, at leaſt in the formal and preliminary parts of it.

If by all theſe reaſons and perſwaſions, count Kinſki will not be prevailed with, I think the mediators ought to tell him plainly, that in caſe of a ſecond notification, they cannot take notice of it, or make him a ſecond viſit in form, without firſt receiving his majeſty's orders, and ſo attend your poſitive directions, upon the account given you by this ordinary.

In caſe count Kinſki will be prevailed with to content himſelf with the firſt notifications and viſits made him upon them; then, I ſuppoſe, the French and Swedes may be appeaſed upon receiving their notifications ſo late; ſince count Kinſki pretends to have yet notified none but the mediators, and to have received viſits from the reſt without notifications.

For my part, I ſee no other way out of this wood; and if by count Kinſki's obſtinacy it muſt come to his

his majeſty, I know not well what in that caſe can be done, but to ſtick cloſe to the ſtyle already uſed in the aſſembly, where no firſt viſits have been diſtinguiſhed by *cognito* or *incognito*; ſince a change made by his majeſty in this practice will not only break all correſpondence or viſits between the Imperialiſts and French, but will give an offence from his majeſty to the French, by giving a point more to the emperor than to their king; whereas they pretend to yield only place to him, but no diſtinction of rank.

I thought fit to trouble you with my thoughts upon this occaſion, as well as to tranſmit them to my colleague at Nimeguen, in regard they may poſſibly ſerve to give his majeſty ſome little light before the reſolution be taken in it. And I will preſume to add one conſideration more, upon the other embarraſs already fallen out between us and the Brandenburgh ambaſſadors, wherein it ſeems his majeſty has not yet interpoſed his judgment: the allegations on either ſide are ſo blank contrary one to another, that it is difficult to determine them; though the teſtimony of monſieur Courtin, Oxenſtiern, and Colbert, in what they have themſelves practiſed, or ſeen practiſed ſo often, ſeems not eaſily to be ſcrupled. But the great ſtrength of the Brandenburgh pretenſion will be the late reſolution of the emperor, dated, as I remember, November 25 laſt paſt, in the practice intended thereupon in their favour by the Imperial ambaſſadors at Nimeguen, and thereupon, poſſibly, by the Spaniſh too. Now this new conceſſion of the emperor ſeems on one ſide to weaken the Brandenburgh allegations as to former practice (in which caſe there would be no need of this new reſolution); but, on the other ſide, it ſeems to induce other kings to give them what the emperor does, to whom they yield in point of place.

This only is to be conſidered, whether other kings will take themſelves to be obliged by the emperor's

ſtyle

ſtyle to German princes; ſince he may have an intereſt in doing it, toward the deciſion of what remains in queſtion between him and other kings. For though the emperor pretends to be in rank above other crowned heads in Chriſtendom; yet, as I take it, the other kings conſider him only as the firſt of kings, but not as of a rank above them. But if the emperor can procure, by his example, the electors to be treated equally in all points with the crowned heads, it will be an advantage to his pretenſions, ſince there is certainly a difference of rank between him and his electors. In caſe Spain gives it, by the emperor's example, and from conſiderations of their preſent confederacy, both with the emperor and princes of Germany, the inducements will then be ſtronger for his majeſty to do it; and the queſtion remaining will only be, whether his majeſty ſhould do it without aſſurance that France and Sweden will do it too? For ſince his majeſty has already declared the ſtyle he intended the electors, and grounded it upon the precedents of Munſter, and other late aſſemblies, if he ſhould change his ſtyle, upon the example of the emperor and Spain alone, it may ſeem a partiality to the opinion and practice of thoſe two crowns, and againſt thoſe of France and Sweden; whereas his majeſty, as mediator, may be allowed not to change his own ſtyle but upon a change or conſent of all the other crowned heads.

But the determination of theſe matters muſt be given us by your orders from his majeſty to us, and our parts are no other but offering the ſmall lights we can towards his majeſty's better information in theſe caſes.

Monſieur Colbert ſends me word, that they have received their own *pleinpouvoirs*, and in ſuch a form, *que monſieur* Beverning *avouë lui-même qu'il a tout ce qu'il demandoit*; which I take notice of, as ſomething

that has paſſed between them without the communication of my colleague at Nimeguen, for as much as I obſerve by their diſpatch. And I doubt not but the delays of the allies will haſten monſieur Beverning, one way or other, to enter the ſooner and deeper into the buſineſs, as far as lies particularly between France and them.

I took notice, in the duplicate of the laſt letter to the ambaſſadors at Nimeguen, of his majeſty's pleaſure concerning Mr. Hyde, whom I have not yet ſeen, his arrival happening at Nimeguen ſeveral days after I left it. But I have given order for the offering him all the convenience of my houſe or equipage, during his ſtay there; and was ſurprized with the news, by this day's letters, of his having already left Nimeguen upon his way hither, where I am now like to ſee him firſt. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To my Lord Ambaſſador Jenkins.

My Lord, Hague, January 13, N. S. 1674.

I Was ſorry to find by your lordſhip's yeſterday, how great an embarraſs count Kinſki is like to bring upon you there, by a proceeding which I take to be very contrary to all form and ſtyle uſed among ambaſſadors, either in the preſent congreſs, or any other place. By what I can gueſs from the exact account given of it in your joint letter, I judge, that in caſe he perſiſts to give the ſecond notifications, in order to ſecond viſits of ceremony, it muſt neceſſarily break off all communication between him and the French ambaſſadors, and thereby wholly obſtruct the fair and eaſy progreſs of this aſſembly: therefore, in my opinion, your lordſhip ought to uſe all poſſible endeavours to divert him from this reſolution; and to this purpoſe, very many arguments will eaſily occur to you: as firſt, that it is contrary to all ſtyle; becauſe, if

if he intended his firſt interviews *incognito*, he ought either to have come himſelf frankly to ſuch ambaſſadors as he had a mind to ſee, or receive ſuch viſits as were made him in the ſame manner, without any notification; for any formal notification ſignifieth plainly, that he is not *incognito*, but owneth a character of ambaſſador, in right whereof ſuch notifications are always given. Secondly, if your lordſhip makes him another viſit in form, you give him a double honour in reſpect of what you have given any other ambaſſador, which is a thing they will all reſent. Thirdly, if this happens, the French will certainly not viſit him, becauſe he will have given two notifications to other ambaſſadors, and but one to them, which makes them plainly go leſs than the reſt. Fourthly, it is a leſſening likewiſe to the other ambaſſadors, who have viſited him upon his firſt notifications; ſince he hath engaged them to make him a viſit in form, and pretends for it to have returned them only a viſit *incognito*, wherein there is no equality. Fifthly, the mediators have already declared their opinion both to him and to the French ambaſſadors; and if any thing be allowed them as mediators, it will be certainly the liberty of directing or adjudging ſuch points of form as theſe are, whenever they think fit to declare their opinion.

If theſe arguments will not prevail with the count Kinſki, I think you may uſe one more of greater weight (but as in confidence to him) which is, that theſe kind of paces, contrary to uſual form, will be interpreted as new and affected delays; and that the effect of them will be to drive the Dutch into ſeparate negotiations and treaties; whereas his majeſty's intentions aim wholly at a general peace. But the Dutch ſeem reſolved not to go on with the war, unleſs they can *mettre la France dans ſon tort*; and upon this he may be brought to adviſe with the Dutch ambaſſadors: and they on the other ſide may be perſuaded to em-

ploy their offices to divert him from his preſent reſolution. In caſe all theſe prevail not, your lordſhip, I think, may plainly tell him, that you cannot make him a ſecond viſit in form upon his ſecond notification, without firſt receiving his majeſty's orders, which thereupon, I ſuppoſe, you will attend, in anſwer to the letter that went by laſt poſt.

In caſe count Kinſki be content the firſt viſits already made ſhould paſs for thoſe of form, and thereupon will ſend his notifications to the French and Swediſh ambaſſadors, I ſuppoſe, you may eaſily prevail with the French to receive them, and make their viſits upon them before don Pedro de Ronquillo appears; in regard count Kinſki declareth, that he hath yet notified none but the mediators; and that the ground of his not doing the ſame to the French before, ſeemed only his doubt, whether upon it they would viſit him or no.

This is all I can ſay upon this ſubject, and ſhould not have ſaid any thing at this diſtance, and to your lordſhip, who are ſo well able to judge yourſelf upon all theſe emergencies, but that you are pleaſed to engage me to it by your letter; and I cannot make a difficulty upon what you ſo earneſtly deſire of me in this or any other kind, being ever, with ſo much eſteem and truth, my lord, your lordſhip's moſt faithful humble ſervant.

To the King.

Hague, January 15, N. S. 1677.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

I KNOW no better acknowledgments I can make your majeſty for ſo great an honour as I received laſt night by a letter from your own hand, than in the beſt obedience I can yield to the commands it brought me; eſpecially that of giving your majeſty, with all ſpeed, an account of what concluſions the prince ſhould fall into

into upon the ſubject of it. I have already had two audiences from his highneſs upon this occaſion, and diſcourſed over the whole thing with the beſt advantage I could to what your majeſty propoſes to yourſelf, and to the prince, with ſo great reaſon in the courſe of this affair. I ſhall not trouble your majeſty with the particulars of theſe converſations, but give you, as ſhort and as cloſe as I can, his highneſs's laſt anſwer and concluſion upon them; which is this, and to which he told me he would refer himſelf in the letter he intends this night to your majeſty.

His highneſs ſays, that this being the firſt time your majeſty has pleaſed to tell him plainly the conduct you would have him hold in the courſe of this affair, he is reſolved to let your majeſty ſee how great eſteem he makes of this confidence, by the moſt perfect compliance with what your majeſty propoſes as the firſt ſtep to be made in it, and by falling in with your majeſty in the concert of the reſt, as far as he can poſſibly, whenever he ſhall know more of your mind: that their ambaſſadors ſhall receive orders to give in a memorial to your majeſty in their maſters' name, deſiring and preſſing the continuance and enforcement of your majeſty's offices towards a general peace; and chiefly upon this ground, that they apprehend the loſs of Flanders without it; and that his highneſs will ſo concert it here, that this ſhall be in ſuch terms as will reach your majeſty's end, and ſhall be left for you to make what public uſe of it you think fit: that, becauſe this cannot be prepared before the next poſt, his highneſs will this night put into my hands a letter ſigned by himſelf and the penſioner, to monſieur Van Beuninghen, giving him order to apply all his diſcourſes in common and particular converſations to the ſame end, and even to receive inſtructions from your majeſty in what manner and terms, in what places, and to what perſon, chiefly to apply them: that this let-

ter being not to be communicated ſo much as to the commiſſioners of ſecret affairs here, ſhall be incloſed by me to your majeſty's own hands, to uſe as you pleaſe; to give it privately yourſelf, or cauſe it to be delivered by any other hand, and at ſuch time as you think fit; and his highneſs queſtions not monſieur Van Beuninghen's governing himſelf in this affair entirely to your majeſty's ſatisfaction: that for the miniſters of their allies, he cannot anſwer for them, becauſe he knows very well, they have not a mind to the peace, as his highneſs and this State have. That it will be hard to make them ſay what they do not think of Flanders being loſt without the peace; but that he knows don Emanuel de Lyra to be ſo reaſonable a man, that his highneſs hopes to bring him to your opinion, that this conduct is fitteſt for their miniſters in England, and to prevail with him to write effectually to don Bernardo upon it: and to this end the prince told me, he would write to don Emanuel de Lyra, that it would be abſolutely neceſſary for him to come immediately hither; and that at his arrival, he would uſe his utmoſt offices to diſpoſe him to it.

In all theſe paces, his highneſs thinks he goes to the utmoſt length your majeſty can deſire; and indeed I could not think of any more to propoſe. But, after all, he ſaid, he could not engage to go farther in the endeavours of effecting the peace, till he knew upon what terms your majeſty intended it; for there are ſome that may be ſupported, and others that cannot; and ſuch as theſe they will venture *le tout pour le tout*, rather than agree to them: and therefore, it would be neceſſary to know your majeſty's mind as ſoon as was poſſible.

I told his highneſs, I would repreſent this to your majeſty; but deſired him to conſider, that there might very well be three weeks or a month's time between your majeſty's knowing his mind firſt, and telling him your

your own upon it; or his highneſs's knowing your majeſty's firſt, and then telling you his upon it, and expecting afterwards a return from your majeſty. His highneſs made a pauſe at this and other arguments I uſed towards prevailing with him to explain himſelf firſt; eſpecially that of my believing your majeſty would be more pleaſed with it, and take it as a piece of more confidence from him. And having thought a while, he anſwered, that to ſhew your majeſty how frankly he would deal with you, and with how much confidence he deſired to live in all that paſſed between you, he would not make a difficulty of explaining himſelf firſt, though he might have reaſons to do it: that if your majeſty had a mind to make a peace, he thought you muſt do it upon the foot of Aix la Chapelle, which you would have the more ground for, becauſe you had both made and warranted it: that for exchanges, he thought there ſhould be no other propoſed upon it, but only of Aeth and Charleroy for Aire and St. Omers; which two laſt, he thought, imported a great deal more than the others, unleſs France would declare, that they ended this war with a proſpect of beginning another, by which they may get the reſt of Flanders: that this is all need paſs between France and Spain; and for what concerns the emperor and this State, that the emperor having taken Philipſburgh from the French, ſhould raze it; and the French having taken Maeſtricht from this State, ſhould raze that too. And ſo this whole war ſhould paſs *comme un tourbillon qui avoit enfin ceſſé, après avoir menacé beaucoup, & fait fort peu de remuëmens au monde.*

He ſaid, for any other intereſts that might be involved in this war, it would not be neceſſary now to ſay any thing of them; for if thus far were agreed on, the reſt muſt follow one way or other: that the emperor and Spain had propoſed other ſchemes to themſelves by the war, and therefore deſired the continuance of it,

and would fall hardly into this; but if your majesty did, he would, for his part, do his utmost to effect it in concert with you, he hoped with them; and, however, desired to know what you thought fit to be changed in this scheme he had drawn of it.

I observed two things to his highness upon it; first, that by it the county of Burgundy would be restored to Spain; with which condition, your majesty was absolutely of opinion, when I last attended you, that France would not hear of a peace; and, I thought, nothing had since passed in the war to make you believe it less. Secondly, that after so many conquests made, and so many expected by France at this time, it would be very hard to believe they could be brought to restore such acquisitions as they were possessed of, so very considerable, and without any equivalent. He answered to the first, that Burgundy could not be left in the French hands, without restitution of several other towns in Flanders, upon which so many debates would arise, as must of necessity draw the business into great lengths, and leave all to the decision of another campaign. But if your majesty persisted in your former opinion upon that matter, there was no way but finding out what was proposed by France, as the equivalent of Burgundy upon the treaty of Aix, and regulate it accordingly.

For the second, he said, I had reason, and he did not believe France would do it at this time upon other motives, than those of your majesty's interposition. But if they would not consent to these terms, or some others near them, that your majesty should think fit to propose, the war must go on, and God Almighty must decide it: that all the allies, beside this State, desired nothing else; and the Spaniards believed, if don John came to the head of their affairs, as he might very well be at this time, it would be a new world with them: and the truth was, that crown had

had great resources, how ill use soever they made of them: that one good town well defended, or one battle well fought, would change the business: that, for his own part, he would give in, all that could be, with his majesty, to bring about a general peace upon very moderate terms; but, if France would make them insupportable, they would venture all rather than receive them; and if they hoped the ill conduct or ill fortunes of their allies would bring this State to make a separate peace, let the pensioner, or any else, tell me what they pleased, they should never do it whilst he was alive; and he would say one thing further to me, that he had it in his power to hinder it: that, if he died, he knew very well it would be made next day: but he did not trouble himself how the world was like to go when he was gone out of it; and, perhaps, we were the persons most concerned to look after that.

This was the end of his highness's discourse; and the last part of it was spoke with a good deal of emotion; with which he rose up; and I promised to represent the whole to your majesty in the truest lines and colours I could possibly (as I have done here); and he told me, he would come to me before this post went away, and put the two letters he promised into my hands.

I most humbly beg your majesty's pardon for a trouble which should not have been so long, if it had not been necessary; and that you will please to accept that true and hearty devotion wherewith I am, and shall be ever, Sir, your majesty's, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR, Hague, January 15, N. S. 1677.

LAST night I received the honour of yours of the 29th past, with two from his majesty, one to the States, and the other to me; the acknowledgment whereof

whereof by this incloſed, I humbly deſire you will pleaſe to preſent to his majeſty's own hands with the firſt opportunity. For that to the States concerning the three Scotſmen, I intend to deliver it to-morrow, and have deferred till then the conference I intended this day upon it. The penſioner is of a ſudden reſtored in a great meaſure to his health by this thaw, and aſſured me to-day, that he will be to-morrow at the States, when his majeſty's letter ſhall be delivered; and at the conference I will, at the ſame time, demand for the afternoon. The buſineſs is very hard to make him comprehend in point of juſtice upon the treaty, and will be hard to digeſt by the province of Holland in point of intereſt, being one of the great things which has peopled, and thereby raiſed this country: I mean, the eſteem in which it has paſſed, of being a refuge to men miſerable at home, or perſecuted by their own governments. But I will charge myſelf not to ſtir from hence without an anſwer to his majeſty upon this matter, and will not yet deſpair of ſuch a one as he deſires.

The great news here, but which is yet in few hands, is, what the laſt Spaniſh courier met (they ſay) upon the way, that don John, at the head of moſt of the great nobility of Spain, was upon his way to Madrid, to deſire both the queen and the marquis de Valanzuela to retire from court, and, conſequently, to take poſſeſſion of the abſolute miniſtry there. Some ſay, the king himſelf is in it; others ſpeak as if the marquis were ſo too: but, I find, don Emanuel de Lyra believes the thing, and that it will be decided in four-and-twenty hours, and one way or other give an eſtabliſhment to their affairs.

Mr. Hyde came hither yeſterday from Rotterdam, not knowing any thing of the orders given by his majeſty for his ſtay at Nimeguen. I ſhewed him a copy you had pleaſed to ſend me of your letter to the am-

ambaſſadors at Nimeguen, wherein was that paragraph concerned him. He ſeemed much ſurprized with it, and perplexed what to reſolve, having not met it till he had overſhot the place where it was intended he ſhould receive it. He parted this morning again for Rotterdam to meet all the letters he expected there, but will return hither to-morrow; though I knew not whether with reſolutions of ſtaying here, or returning to Nimeguen, till his commiſſion and farther orders come: but of this I preſume you will have a farther account from himſelf.

I humbly thank you for the duplicate of your laſt to Nimeguen; I can pretend to no ſhare in the approbation you pleaſe to give us; but, I am ſure, muſt have a great deal in any faults we made while I was there; and can only ſay, that I am ever very glad to hear of them, and ſhall be more ſo to mend them. For the offer of our form of powers in French, it was only a firſt draught, and offered but for the parties approbation or amendments; and being done at the deſires of the French and Dutch, it was done in the language they both uſed in their powers: but when we ſhewed it the Swedes, we told them, if it were approved, we intended to offer it in Latin.

For the offer of his majeſty's contenting himſelf without mention of the mediation, we were very far from making any; and the fartheſt we went, was to ſay, when all the parties deſired us to leave it out, we would give them our anſwer upon it. For the inſinuation, that his majeſty would not ſtand upon that circumſtance, if all the parties deſired it, we were moved to it by the diſcourſes we heard of among ſome of the miniſters, that the difficulties then on foot in the treaty were raiſed by the mediators more than the parties: but yet what was ſaid was not till after both Swedes and Danes had told us, they would never deſire that omiſſion from us. If after this, they ſtill

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were faults, I humbly beg his majeſty's pardon for my ſhare of them, and deſire your belief of my being always, Sir, your, &c.

To the King.

Hague, Jan. 19, N. S. 1677.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

I Was forced to give your majeſty ſo large a trouble by the laſt ordinary, that I ſhould not have the confidence to renew it ſo ſoon, but that I think it becomes me to let your majeſty know, that, upon the cloſure of my laſt, the prince came to me, and ſhewed me the letter he had writ to monſieur Van Beuninghen, aſking me, whether it would reach what your majeſty deſired. I told his highneſs, what indeed I thought, that it was as full as could be wiſhed, towards the governing of his private converſation; but that your majeſty expected ſomething that might be open too and above board; which, I thought, could not be otherwiſe done than by a memorial from the ambaſſador to your majeſty in his maſter's name. The prince ſaid, that though the allies would take it ill, yet it ſhould be done; and orders ſhould be ſent him to that purpoſe by the next. After this the prince told me he had writ to your majeſty, but not troubled you with the detail of what had paſſed between us, having referred your majeſty wholly to me in that point; and therefore he deſired to ſee my letter, which he read, and ſaid, it was not only what he ſaid and meant, but all he could ſay, till he knew more of your majeſty's mind. In the mean time, that he looked upon this as the firſt pace of confidence between your majeſty and him: that he hoped it would go on from this time, and prove fortunate to you both. He ſaid he ſhould go to Soeſdyke the latter end of this week, and ſpend moſt of this ſeaſon between that and Dieren; at either of which places he ſhould be in my reach

reach to Nimeguen, upon any thing that ſhould come to me from your majeſty, and be neceſſary for him to know, and to take his meaſures upon with me. I believe one reaſon more is, that our commerce there may paſs with leſs noiſe than this here has done; which has given his allies ſo great alarms of my being here to negotiate a ſeparate treaty with his highneſs, that he would be glad to be out of the way, and avoid their expoſtulations upon a matter wherein, tho' he does them no wrong, yet he makes them not of his confidence, as he has hitherto done; and is ſo hardened againſt thoſe delicacies he uſed to have in that point, that upon the emperors's miniſter entering very deep with him yeſterday upon the occaſion of my being here, he contented himſelf only to tell him, that he had yet heard nothing of a ſeparate peace; but ſuch a conduct as that of the emperor's has been theſe two laſt years, might put this State upon deſperate counſels: and if Flanders muſt be loſt, it was but what the emperor ſeemed to intend; and that if he the reſident pleaſed, he might write to Vienna what anſwer he the prince had made him.

I will add only, that as I doubt not your majeſty will have what helps his highneſs can give you on this ſide towards effecting the peace; ſo I cannot imagine you ſhould meet with any hindrances at home, after theſe inſtructions ſent to monſieur Van Beuninghen; and after theſe two letters I wrote ſince my coming hither, to the two ſecretaries of State, upon the appearances of a ſeparate peace; which, I am confident, were enough to convince all men, that your majeſty cannot endeavour any thing at this time of more ſafety to your own kingdoms, as well as glory abroad, than the ſudden concluſion of a general one. I ſhall end this trouble with the ſincere profeſſions of that humble and hearty devotion wherewith I am, and ſhall ever be, Sir, your majeſty's, &c.

To

To the King.

Hague, Jan. 22, N. S. 1677.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

THE prince deſired me this morning to beg your majeſty's excuſe for thoſe orders I mentioned to monſieur Van Beuninghen being not yet gone, for putting in ſuch a memorial to your majeſty, as might reach the end you deſired. The delay has been occaſioned by returns of the penſioner's illneſs, and the extraordinary ſeſſions of the States of Holland; but his highneſs aſſures me, it will not fail of going by next poſt. He deſired me at the ſame time to tell your majeſty, that he has had reaſon given him to believe, France will be content to give Charleroy, Aeth, Oudenarde, and Courtray, for Aire and St. Omers; ſo that he has been an ill negotiator in what he laſt propoſed; but hopes your majeſty is ſo much a friend to the preſervation of Flanders, as to manage it to the beſt advantage. I promiſed his highneſs to ſay what he deſired me to your majeſty, and in this manner to your own hand, as he particularly deſired it might be. But I muſt obſerve one thing I gathered from the penſioner upon this ſubject, which his highneſs did not mention: among many overtures he has entertained me with from France, both general and particular to this State, he told me in a viſit to-day, that France would be willing to give thoſe four towns for two, in caſe Sweden might be reſtored to all they had loſt. I aſked him what was to become of Burgundy? and he ſaid, to return to Spain, ſince the propoſition was the peace of Aix la Chapelle, with only that exchange; and that he had it from a good hand. I told both him, and afterwards the prince, that I doubted it upon that point of Burgundy. The prince is of opinion, that if France be obſtinate in not reſtoring Burgundy,

gundy, ſome temper might be found in leaving it neutral by agreement. The prince goes to-morrow to Soeſdyke, and I ſhall return, God willing, to Nimeguen the day after; his highneſs having concerted, upon any neceſſary communications from your majeſty, that I ſhall make a ſtep thither or to Dieren, which will be done without much noiſe for a night or two. I have been forced, in my own juſtification, to give Mr. Secretary Williamſon this night an account of ſome diſcourſes of monſieur Colbert, which I ſhould not otherwiſe have mentioned. I hope your majeſty will think fit ſuch matters be private as they were intended, ſince, at one time or other, you may make uſe of that diſpoſition in him and others to enter a little further into confidences with me than with other miniſters.

I am and ſhall be ever, with perfect devotion and truth, Sir, your majeſty's, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, January 22, N. S. 1677.

THE unuſual length of my conference with the States deputies laſt Thurſday left me no time to give you an account of it that poſt: and a viſit I received to-day from the penſioner hath left me no occaſion to trouble you with the particulars of ſo long and warm arguments as paſſed on both ſides upon it. I will only ſay, that the buſineſs of the three Scots miniſters hath been the hardeſt piece of the negotiation that ever I yet entered upon here, both from the particular intereſts of the towns and province of Holland, and the general eſteem they have of Mackaird being a very quiet and pious man, but chiefly from the firm perſuaſion they have, of not being obliged to it by any bare letter of his majeſty, without any ſentence having paſſed againſt them, by which they are adjudged rebels or fugitives: and, on the contrary,

trary, after a ſentence of baniſhment againſt Mackaird and Brown, which, they ſay, is by all writers eſteemed wholly to extinguiſh their ſubjection, and, conſequently, his majeſty's right of declaring them rebels after they are baniſhed, and become ſubjects to another ſtate. And they ſay, his majeſty would have no reaſon to take notice of any letter from the States declaring any man a rebel, without a copy of the ſentence pronounced againſt him to that purpoſe; the reciprocal whereof they expected likewiſe from his majeſty upon theſe occaſions. But I found the king's honour ſo far engaged in this matter, by three ſeveral letters which muſt have been public, that I have left no ſort of arguments uneſſayed with the prince, the penſioner, and deputies both of the provinces and towns, to procure his majeſty's ſatisfaction, and make it paſs for a thing ſo neceſſary to diſpatch, that it hath taken up two long debates in the States of Holland theſe two days paſt, though their meeting was intended but for five days, and for no other buſineſs but the levies of monies neceſſary for the campaign; yet this morning the penſioner came to give me hopes, that it might be effected this very day, and at leaſt the aſſurance, that he would uſe his utmoſt endeavours in it; and that the diſpatch ſhould be made by a letter from the States to his majeſty, which ſhould be put into my hands to go by this very ordinary; ſo that I will reckon upon it as a thing done, unleſs I ſee myſelf forced to cloſe this pacquet without it. I incloſe the States reſolution about the ſhip Thomas and John, recommended by his majeſty's letter, with the aſſurance of the like dealing on his majeſty's ſide in the like caſes. For the merchant-adventurers of Dort, not only the penſioner, but all the deputies, have renewed the former aſſurances given me of its receiving a final anſwer next ordinary ſeſſion of the States of Holland, which is to be in February. And for the ſhips taken upon pre-

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tence of trading from enemy's to enemy's port, the States have, upon my inſtances, written a ſecond letter to the admiralty of Zealand, to require their ſpeedy anſwer; upon which the deputies promiſed their endeavours to ſee juſtice done in that matter.

The prince goeth early to-morrow morning to Soesdyke, where he intends to paſs as much of this ſeaſon as the affairs here will give him leave; and in caſe I receive the ſatisfaction and letter for his majeſty I expect this night, upon the affair of the three Scotſmen, I ſhall begin my journey towards Nimeguen, either to-morrow morning, or the day after; finding nothing more that requires my preſence here, and being much preſſed to my return. In the mean time, having newly received yours of the 5th, I find a paragraph in it, which I think it will be neceſſary to anſwer by this diſpatch, though I have not my letters here to which I might have ſome occaſion to refer.

You are pleaſed to ſay upon the ſubject of a ſeparate peace, that his majeſty puts much weight upon what I ſaid in mine of the 5th, of monſieur Colbert's many and particular diſcourſes to me, as well as the mareſchal d'Eſtrades, of their deſires to enter into this matter of ſeparate negotiations and meaſures with the prince and this State; which are the words of my letter; and that you being called upon in the point, could not find any thing mentioned till now, or, at leaſt, not ſo as that I had found cauſe to make that important judgment I ſeemed, in mine of the 5th, to have made upon it; which was, that I ſuppoſe there could occur no difficulty on that ſide, whenever it grows full ripe on the part of Holland.

I will confeſs in the firſt place, that if I never had met with the leaſt motive for this ſuppoſition from any diſcourſes of the French ambaſſadors, yet I ſhould have been of the ſame opinion; and never yet met with any man that doubted it; ſince the conſequences

of a ſeparate peace between France and Holland muſt be the loſs of Flanders, and the dependence of this ſtate upon France, which are too great intereſts ever to be neglected by ſo wiſe a crown. But I ſhall now tell you what farther reaſons I had to believe it, from the diſcourſes I mentioned of the French ambaſſadors, ſince you are pleaſed to put me upon it; and that which might before have paſſed for vanity to trouble you with, is now grown neceſſary for my own juſtification in what I writ to you upon this ſubject.

You may pleaſe to remember what I writ to you upon my firſt particular viſits with thoſe two ambaſſadors after my arrival at Nimeguen; the overtures, and, indeed, inſtances they made me apart, of entering into particular intelligences and negotiations with me, ſeparately from my colleagues; and in order to cloſe any particular meaſures that might be entered into between them and the prince of Orange by my intervention. You acknowledged my private letter to you upon that ſubject, and ſaid, you had ſhewed it his majeſty, but gave me no ſort of reflection upon it, either from his majeſty or yourſelf, by which I might know whether it was fit for me, or no, to entertain or encourage any ſuch commerce, diſtinct from my colleagues; and thereupon I took up the reſolution to avoid it, and to continue the anſwers I had firſt made upon ſuch overtures, of my having nothing at all, diſtinct from my colleagues; either in his majeſty's inſtructions, or (as they call it) his ſecret; or any thing that would bear me out in any ſeparate negotiations with the prince; or any other ſteps than thoſe of a general mediator. Notwithſtanding all this, monſieur Colbert continued very particular applications to me of this kind, but with inſtances much more preſſing, about the time of the prince's return from the campaign; and eſpecially in two very long and deſigned converſations, which he grounded upon letters he had received to that purpoſe

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from the king his maſter. His diſcourſes began with his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's eſteem of my being able to contribute more than any man to the peace; ſince it depended wholly upon the prince of Orange, and I had more acquaintance, and (as he would have it) intereſt with his highneſs, than any other miniſter. That nothing could be done of ſo much ſervice to the prince, as inducing him to enter into particular negotiations with the king his maſter. That if they two could agree, the reſt of the parties muſt fall into the meaſures they would take: the kindneſs the moſt Chriſtian king ever had for the prince's family, and eſteem for his perſon; the eaſineſs he would ſhew in all that concerned particularly the intereſts of his highneſs and this ſtate: and thereupon he preſſed me, by all poſſible arguments, to undertake the bringing about this intelligence between his maſter and the prince. When I excuſed myſelf, upon our inſtructions being common to us all three, and impowering us only to offices of a general mediation, he told me, nothing elſe could make a general peace; and that it had never been made at Munſter, but for the duke of Bavaria's acting in the whole matter, by concert with France, under-hand, by which he received all the advantages he could propoſe to himſelf: and the prince of Orange ought to play the ſame game in this preſent treaty, and would certainly meet with the ſame ſucceſs. Nor was it once, or twice, or thrice only, that I have been entertained with theſe diſcourſes; nor from themſelves alone, but from ſome of my friends too upon their ſuggeſtions; which was enough to give me ſuch a ſuppoſition as you mention, that there could be no difficulty on that ſide, if the thing ſhould once grow to be ripe on this. However, I ſuffered them to paſs as matters only of particular converſation, and not worth troubling you with; ſince it was like to have no effect, by my excuſing myſelf always from entering into any ſuch intelligences without

his majeſty's expreſs command; and by my finding no appearances of the prince of Orange giving into any ſuch meaſures, though other ways have been made uſe of to give him the impreſſions, by a continual correſpondence which monſieur d'Eſtrades holds with perſons here to that purpoſe. And I ſuppoſe you have reaſon to think I was not deceived, both by what I told you the prince ſaid to me upon the ſubject of a ſeparate peace, the day after that long diſcourſe upon it with the penſioner, and likewiſe by what his highneſs ſaid to me ſince, that it ſhould never be while he lived, and that it was in his power to hinder it; which I then gave his majeſty an account of. And yet I am of opinion, that if, beyond all expectation, the laſt remiſes of money had not come from Spain; and that the Mediterranean as well as Baltic fleets had come to be paid off, before any money had been paid by Spain to the admiralties here, the prince would have found difficulties to carry on the war without endangering a mutiny at Amſterdam. On the other ſide, I am very well perſuaded to have given you, in mine of the 5th, the true ſcheme of what will be the procedure of this State in the treaty at Nimeguen; which is, to enter into the matter as ſoon as they can, to adjuſt the points that are particular between France and them; and after the propoſal of ſatisfaction to their allies, to leave the management of that head to the allies themſelves; and ſo appear, as to their own part, to be *hors d'affaires*, and thereby lie ready to take ſuch meaſures as time and conjectures ſhall ſuggeſt to them. But as the prince's firmneſs ſeems to ſecure this point while he lives, at leaſt, if he be right in the calculation of his own power, ſo I am of his highneſs's opinion, that nothing can prevent it, if any thing ſhould happen to his perſon. And that, on the other ſide, by all the diſpoſitions I diſcover here, both in the prince and States, his majeſty hath yet never found a more favourable

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conjuncture towards the effecting what he hath ſo long deſired, and employed ſo much of his care in, as the happy meditation of a general peace, wherein I ſhall endeavour, at my return to Nimeguen, to purſue his majeſty's intentions, both upon our firſt inſtructions, and thoſe we continually receive from your hands, by his majeſty's command. I am ever, Sir, your, &c.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

My Lord, Arnheim, Jan. 25, N. S. 1677.

I HAD only leiſure, in my laſt, to acknowledge the honour of two I had then received from your lordſhip, but ſhall now anſwer the particulars of them, and give you as much light, and as little trouble by it as I can. The offer his majeſty made the prince, concerning an alliance after the peace, was received by his highneſs with all the ſatisfaction that could be; and he ſaid immediately upon it, that he would ſend it to the penſioner to be communicated to ſome of the States, who, he was ſure, would be as glad of it as he; and would take it as a ſign of his majeſty's concerning himſelf not only in his highneſs, but in the ſafety of this country: and that for the condition his majeſty required, of no alliances in prejudice of it, he ſuppoſed his majeſty did not mean thoſe they were already engaged in, and, he was ſure, they would enter into no new ones, but in concert with his majeſty, in caſe he would bring them out of this war: upon which he deſired me to acquaint him with his majeſty's thoughts. Thus far I had reaſon to believe the advance made by his majeſty would not fail of having all the effects, your lordſhip tells me, you then propoſed to yourſelves: but when I acquainted his highneſs with the ſubſtance of Mr. Secretary Williamſon's letter, after caſting up diſtinctly what it amounted to, he ſaid, he would die rather than make ſuch a peace: and afterwards,

terwards, that he would rather charge a thouſand men with a hundred, though he were ſure to die in the action; and ſeveral ſuch deſperate things as theſe. Afterwards he talked a great deal in colder blood; how loſt he ſhould be in honour to his allies, and to all the world, by ſuch a peace as this; and that the preſſing them to it would have the ſame effect as if he abſolutely broke from them by a ſeparate peace. I told him, that whilſt he conſidered his own honour on one ſide, his majeſty muſt conſider his on the other, if he ſhould now make ſuch propoſitions to France as his highneſs deſired, after having been their ally in the war, and being now a mediator. The prince anſwered me, that when I ſpoke of his majeſty's honour, I could mean it only in the eſteem of France; for he believed every body elſe would think it more honour in the king to make a reaſonable peace, than to ſuffer Flanders to be loſt; and thereupon he fell into a great deal of diſcourſe, what the effects of that would be; and whenever it was, that this State muſt of neceſſity fall into an abſolute dependence upon France, and could never think of defending itſelf by any alliance with England: that this country was not made to be the ſtage of a long war, by being wholly a place of trade, which would all die when the country came into that condition; and that, beſides, being of ſmall extent, the taking of one or two towns by France would bring them into the heart of all their provinces. I told his highneſs, all that was true; but yet I knew him ſo well, as to believe he would venture it, rather than ſee this State grow a province to France, as muſt follow that which he called falling into a dependence upon them; and that I knew he was not made to ſerve. He ſaid, perhaps, I was in the right; and yet, he believed, he ſhould do ſome deſperate thing or other, rather than come to it; but that would do us no good; and either with him,

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or without him, the thing muſt come to that iſſue, if Flanders were once loſt. I told him, I believed the king was as unwilling to ſee that as his highneſs; but aſked, how his majeſty could propoſe ſuch a peace to France as he deſired, after ſuch a war as the allies had made for theſe two laſt campaigns, and with ſuch appearances as were of the next, even in his own opinion, and by the penſioner's diſcourſes to me upon that ſubject? The prince ſaid very plainly, That I had reaſon; and that they could not hope for ſuch from France, as things now ſtood, unleſs either his majeſty's kindneſs to him, or the intereſt of his own kingdom, would put him upon letting France know, that he deſired it; and he was ſure, if that were done they would come to eaſier terms than he (the prince) had already propoſed. If the king would not make the peace, he knew no remedy, but muſt try how the emperor would make the war; and if he would do it as the State had propoſed to him, and as they had it in their hands at Vienna to do if they pleaſed, he might yet hope for a peace that way, ſince he could not do it this: that for his own part, he muſt go on, ſince he was in; *& quand on eſt à la grande meſſe on y eſt*; meaning, I ſuppoſe, one muſt ſtay till it was done, for there was no getting out.

I aſked him, What I ſhould ſay about his majeſty's offer of alliance? He ſaid, he could make no anſwer till he had ſpoken with the penſioner and the commiſſioners of ſecret affairs; but he would ſay ſomething of it in his letter to the king; but that was not the buſineſs now: it would be very well if the war were ended; and ſhould leave this ſtate in a condition to be defended: but they had now a diſeaſe upon them that they were dying of, and we told them what they ſhould do when they were recovered. Thus he ended the diſcourſe; and, to ſay truth, the moſt unſatisfied that ever I ſaw him in my life. And I have given your lordſhip all the parti-

culars of this converſation, which I had omitted in the account I gave Mr. Secretary Williamſon; contenting myſelf to give him the groſs of it; being by his example induced to write a good deal in cypher, when I had none with me that I thought fit to uſe in a buſineſs of this moment: and my own eyes will not go through with it; and therefore I am apt to truſt to a conveyance, which, in near ſix years embaſſy in this country, never yet failed me once.

Your lordſhip does me too great honour in deſiring my opinion concerning the terms of peace, as they now have paſſed between his majeſty and the prince, wherein I cannot preſume to mix any ſenſe of my own. The prince told me abſolutely, he had gone as low as he could, in his firſt ſcheme I ſent from the Hague: and by what his majeſty was pleaſed to diſcourſe to me, with great freedom, when I was laſt in England, I am not apt to believe he will go much farther than what he has already ſignified by Mr. Secretary Williamſon's letter: ſo that I do not ſee any appearance of their falling into a concert upon this matter; which I am ſorry for, upon particular reaſons between his majeſty and the prince, and upon general ones of the war, and conſequences of it. For I am apt to believe Flanders in danger of being loſt this ſummer, or in ſuch a way to it, as not afterwards to be ſaved: and I doubt the prince and penſioner tell us the truth of this State falling into an abſolute dependence upon France whenever that happens; becauſe I remember monſieur de Witt told me the ſame thing very often, after our alliances with this State for the defence of it in 1668. And I know about three months before thoſe were made, when the Dutch deſpaired of our entering into the defence of Flanders after the peace of Breda, they had ſo perfectly agreed the terms between them of dividing Flanders, that it was hindered only by the ſingle diſſent of the province of Utrecht. And the

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penſioner in his diſcourſes at the Hague put me in mind of it, by ſaying, amongſt other things they could have by a ſeparate peace, that I could not tell whether they might not have Antwerp and Oſtend, which, I remember, were part of the conditions in monſieur de Witt's ſcheme. Upon the whole, conſidering how both his majeſty and the prince ſtand tied in different points of honour upon this matter, I know nothing like to ſalve all, unleſs upon this reſolution in Spain, that court ſhould be content to break their marriage with the Emperor's daughter, and endeavour it with mademoiſelle the duke of Orleans's daughter; and France, in conſideration of that marriage, ſhould be content to part with ſome towns in Flanders, more than they would do upon a peace without a match; ſince this way it would be done, at leaſt, with honour. I know not whether, in ſuch an affair, his majeſty might not uſe both his laſt offices in France, and a perſonal intereſt that he has (as I take it) in don John.

This, for aught I ſee, can be the only expedient between the two great difficulties in the peace; which are, that the affairs in Spain are ſo ill in Flanders, that the allies cannot think fit to make a peace upon the preſent foot, or any thing near it; and on the other ſide, thoſe of France are in ſo good, that it cannot be expected they ſhould eaſily be prevailed with to reſtore much by a peace, when they are in ſo fair appearances of gaining ſtill more by a war, at leaſt, in Flanders and Sicily.

If ever a peace ſhould be made, and leave Flanders in a condition of being defended, and the prince alive, I do not think there can be any difficulty in taking thoſe meaſures with this State which his majeſty has offered, and in the manner he ſhall deſire. As for that circumſtance your lordſhip mentions for me to endeavour the obtaining, eſpecially having been offered

offered before on this ſide; I take it to be a thing that muſt be eſtabliſhed upon private and particular confidence between the king and the prince, and not by any public or private treaties, conſidering the conſtitutions of this government. And this I remember to have ſaid to his majeſty upon it, and he was pleaſed to be of the ſame mind.

Your lordſhip will find in both our common letters of laſt poſt and this, an embarraſs fallen out between us and the count Kinſki, about the communication of his powers to the French, before that of the French to him. We have made the beſt excuſes we could; but to the thing itſelf, the truth is, it will not bear it; though he may, on the other ſide, be too rigid in the offence he takes, and ſatisfaction he expects: but there was a fault made, and it neither was the firſt, nor will it be the laſt; and it was forty to one a greater had not been made next day; and ſuch as, I believe, would have broken all commerce between us and ſome of the ambaſſadors here. I am, my lord, your, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Arnheim, Jan. 28, N. S. 1677.

MY laſt was of the 22d from the Hague. The next day being Saturday, I viſited the penſioner, upon my reſolution of going out of town ſo ſoon as my letters then due ſhould arrive, the prince being gone to Soeſdyke that morning. I told the penſioner the orders his majeſty had given us at Nimeguen, to take off, upon occaſion, the impreſſion made there among the allies of his majeſty's favouring a ſeparate peace; and aſked him, whether he thought it of ſervice to the prince for me to ſay ſomething of the ſame kind at the Hague before I left it; the jealouſy having been as great among the miniſters there, as at Nimeguen? He

He told me it was not worth my while, and that he was content they ſhould believe it, ſince it was in their allies to help it, or not, as they pleaſed: that he had the day before told the emperor's miniſter in plain terms, that if the conduct at Vienna continues what it had hitherto been, nay, if it did not fall abſolutely into the meaſures the ſtate inſiſted on, by the 13th of next month; this ſtate would be forced to make a ſeparate peace, and he was content the emperor ſhould know it. I told him, it might be a fit language to hold to the emperor's miniſter; but that I knew the prince too well to believe it: that he had told me, it ſhould be never while he lived and that he had it in his power to hinder it. The penſioner replied, that he ſhould come to it with as much regret as the prince himſelf; but that his highneſs might be forced to it by the ill conduct of his allies; and if not by that, by mutinies of the people here upon ill ſucceſſes of this next campaign: that this late revolution in Spain had ſhewed what could be brought about by the violent humour of a people; and that his highneſs knew this country too well to go too far againſt it: that, in ſhort, it would depend upon the emperor and Spain; for if they took right and vigorous meaſures, they might yet hope for a good campaign; if they followed ſuch as they had hitherto uſed, this ſtate would be forced to a ſeparate peace, unleſs a general one could be made before the action of this year began. This is all I remember material in his diſcourſes; beſides valuing what he had carried for his majeſty's ſatisfaction, both in the States of Holland and States General, ſo much againſt the humour of both, in the buſineſs of the Scots miniſters, for whoſe departures within the limited time, he ſaid, orders had been already given.

On Sunday morning I received yours of January 9th, with the incloſed pacquet from his majeſty; upon which

which I immediately began my journey towards Soesdyke, where I arrived on Monday afternoon; but met there only a letter from the prince, inviting me to come down to Dieren; his highneſs having gone out that morning a hunting, with intention to lie there that night. On Tueſday night I came to Arnheim, and yeſterday morning went to Dieren, where I found the prince, and delivered both his majeſty's letters. Upon reading the firſt, he ſeemed extremely pleaſed, and ſaid, it was all the aſſurance that could be given, and that he would ſend it that afternoon to the penſioner, to be communicated to the committee of ſecret affairs, to whom, he was confident, it would be the welcomeſt thing that could be; and yet he would give them notice of the ſecrecy required in it. I told his highneſs, I hope he obſerved the condition ſpecified of making no alliances in prejudice of this: he anſwered, that his majeſty could not mean thoſe they had already; and for any new ones, he would undertake it, while his majeſty continued in this mind. After this he read the ſecond letter, and ſaid, it was only of credence to me in what I ſhould ſay of his majeſty's mind about the conditions of the peace. I diſcourſed the whole over in the ſame manner and order, and, as near as I could, in the ſame terms wherein I was inſtructed; valuing the whole as ſuch a ſcheme his majeſty thought poſſible to be obtained of France, rather than ſuch as he thought to be wiſhed, if the matter where whole, and the affairs of the allies in a better poſture. I obſerved the prince of Orange change countenance when I named Cambray, yet he heard me go through the whole ſcheme; and when he had done, he ſaid, that dinner ſtaid, and that he would talk of it after he had dined: ſo we went up, but as he was near the door, he turned and ſaid, though we ſhould talk more of it after dinner, yet he could ſay, in few words,

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all that was to be ſaid to it; which was, that he muſt rather die than make ſuch a peace.

After dinner we fell again into the diſcourſe. He aſked me diſtinctly the particulars, and caſt them up ſeveral ways what they would amount to, both as to the preſent ſtate of things, and that upon which the war begun: as, that Spain muſt by it part with Burgundy, Cambray, Aire, and St. Omers, inſtead of the five towns mentioned by his majeſty. He ſaid, I had ſpoiled his dinner; that he had been thinking it over while he ſhould have eat; but upon the whole, was of the ſame opinion he told me at firſt upon it; and that all muſt be ventured ſince he was in, and there was no other way out. I told him, I ſuppoſed he would give his majeſty his own thoughts upon it; but hoped he would think it over a little more, and in all its circumſtances, before he did it: he replied, that he would write that very night to the king, and ſend me his letter next morning, ſo as it might go by this poſt; but that to ſave his majeſty trouble, he would refer him to me for particulars, and only touch ſome points in general. He then deſired me to let his majeſty know, that he had been very plain in what he had told me upon this matter of his own thoughts, when he writ laſt to the king: that he had gone as low as he thought he could with any regard to his allies, or the ſafety of this country: that he doubted whether Spain would ever have been brought to it; but if his majeſty would have fallen in, he would have uſed his utmoſt endeavours: but for this, he was certain they would not, though they were ſure to loſe all Flanders by the war; and that he would never propoſe it to them: that if Holland ſhould make the peace upon theſe conditions, it would be the ſame thing as to make it ſeparate, and would have the ſame effects, by loſing wholly their allies, and thereby caſting their dependence abſolutely upon France: for if Spain were left in this

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ſtate, Flanders could be defended neither by Holland, nor by England itſelf, whenever France ſhould think fit to invade it: that if Flanders were once loſt, Holland could not poſſibly be defended by England againſt France; and they would be forced to take their meaſures with them, rather than be made the ſtage of the war: that hereby, what his majeſty was pleaſed to offer in his firſt letter, would come to have no effect; and that depended upon the iſſue of the war, whether Holland would be left capable of being defended, or deſerving the honour of ſuch an alliance with his majeſty. He concluded, that what he ſaid at firſt, was all that could be ſaid from hence; that if his majeſty proceeded farther in this matter, it muſt be with France; and thereupon repeated what he had ſaid ſeveral times before, that if his majeſty, either upon kindneſs to him (the prince) or conſideration of what his own crowns might be concerned in this affair, would help him out of this war by a general peace, upon any reaſonable terms, there were no meaſures his majeſty ſhould deſire, which he would not fall into with all the readineſs and ſatisfaction that could be: if his majeſty would not concern himſelf ſo far in it, he muſt leave it to God Almighty to decide it as he pleaſed. I deſired the prince to think again before he writ to his majeſty; but he ſaid, he would certainly write to night; and that all he could think of any buſineſs, was thought in an hour's time; and therefore he deſired me to write this as his anſwer, which, that I might not miſtake, I repeated over as I apprehended it, and his highneſs ſaid, it was right: and I have kept cloſe to it in what I have written; which is all I ſhall, or indeed, can trouble you with upon this ſubject. And, I think, his majeſty has before him, from my ſeveral diſpatches ſince I left Nimeguen, the perfect and clear ſtate of all matters and diſpoſitions as they play here, which yet may alter by the accidents

accidents that the ſpring or ſummer ſhall bring forth; but, I believe, not till then. Upon the cloſure of this, I intend for Nimeguen, and there fall into the foot-ſteps I left; and hope to recover my health, which has ſuffered a good deal by this journey, and which I ſhall always reſerve for the occaſions of his ma-jeſty's ſervice. I am ever, Sir, your, &c.

To the Prince of Orange.

Nimeguen, Feb. 6, N. S. 1677.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

I Received a letter from Mr. Secretary Williamſon by his majeſty's command, in anſwer to the account I gave him of your highneſs's diſcourſes to me at Die-ren upon the ſubject of his majeſty's laſt letter to your highneſs.

I find the king apprehends, by the way and manner of your highneſs's anſwer (in return to what I diſ-courſed to you there, as his majeſty's thoughts in con-fidence between you, about the conditions of a peace) that what his majeſty had offered upon that ſubject, had not been rightly underſtood by your highneſs, or by me; becauſe, firſt, the thing is not meant to be any propoſition that the king would make (which his majeſty thinks is not in his part, nor has he any au-thority to do it) but merely a confidence between him and your highneſs, in return of what you were pleaſed to aſk of his majeſty by your letter of the 15th paſt; upon which the king gave his thoughts, framed and applied particularly to what your highneſs had re-preſented of yours as to the main conditions of a peace.

Next, his majeſty obſerves, that the change of Cam-bray was not a direct part of the principal ſcheme there offered; but is added, in the ſecond place, as what his majeſty propoſes were to be wiſhed, in his opi-nion, for the making, as it were, a double frontier to Bruſſels,

Bruſſels, if it could be obtained from France. And farther, his majeſty obſerves, there were ſix towns propoſed to be reſtored to Spain upon that exchange; ſo as his majeſty is of opinion, that what he has propoſed, if it could be got, would be better for Flanders, (which is the great thing the king thinks he ought to have in his care) than what even your highneſs propoſes. And therefore his majeſty deſires you would think a little farther of the thing, and not let it fall ſo very flat as you ſeemed to do by your laſt anſwer, without trying what it can be beaten out to: for things of this kind cannot be expected to have their perfection upon the firſt eſſay; but muſt be wrought upon with patience and temper. And ſo his majeſty deſires your highneſs will do in this, and let him know your farther mind upon it; which his majeſty deſires in the point, for the great care he is in to have this matter of Flanders ſecured before it be too late.

But if, after all, your highneſs ſtill continues of your own mind, and that you ſo deſire it, his majeſty will very readily hand forward, in the beſt manner he can, this or any other ſcheme your highneſs ſhall think fit to have him hand towards France, and give your highneſs the beſt account he can of the ſucceſs it hath. But his majeſty cannot but think ſtrange, the thing having been taken up in confidence between him and your highneſs, and ſo reſolved to be handled between you, ſhould thus be wholly let fall by your highneſs.

This being what I have order to write to your highneſs upon this ſubject from his majeſty, I ſhall not preſume to encreaſe your trouble any farther, than by the profeſſions of that paſſion and truth wherewith I am ever, your highneſs's moſt faithful and moſt obedient ſervant.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Soeſdyke, Feb. 26, N. S. 1677.

ON Friday laſt I received a letter by an expreſs from the prince, by which he deſired me to meet im at this place on Sunday, as I accordingly did; nd had laſt night a long converſation with his high- eſs upon the ſubject of my letter to him; which, as ou will have obſerved by the copy I ſent you, was a erfect extract of what you were pleaſed to write to me y his majeſty's command of the 30th paſt. I repeat- d to him again his majeſty's apprehenſion of his ighneſs having miſtaken the thing as it was offered y his majeſty; in regard that Cambray was not made direct part of the principal ſcheme; but added only s the king's opinion, for making a ſort of a double rontier to Bruſſels, if it could be obtained from France: nd alſo, that by his ſcheme there would be ſix towns eſtored to Spain; whereas his highneſs had reckoned here would be but five.

The prince replied, he underſtood there would be ut five of thoſe that were given to France by the eace of Aix; and that you had given *un autre tour à ette affaire, mais que cela ne change pas la choſe.* But hat the difference was plain between his majeſty's houghts and his; for his majeſty intended they ſhould reat *ſur le pied de ce que la France poſſedoit à preſent, & que les échanges ſe feroient là-deſſus*; whereas his (the prince's) meaning was, that they ſhould treat upon the oot of Aix la Chapelle, and that the exchanges ſhould e made upon that.

I told him, his majeſty deſired, however, that he would think a little farther of it, and not let it fall ſo ſuddenly, ſince his majeſty's deſign was the ſecuring of Flanders before it were too late: and that, however, if his highneſs ſhould continue of the ſame mind, the

king would be willing to hand over to France any ſcheme the prince ſhould think fit, and give him the beſt account he could of it.

The prince replied, that he had conſidered enough of it; but did not well know what he could ſay more upon it at this time: that when he had firſt ſpoke to me of it at the Hague, he was not only very deſirous of a peace, but of opinion that it might have been compaſſed this winter, and thought it was fitter for him to addreſs himſelf to his majeſty upon it, than go any other way; both becauſe he believed his majeſty deſired the peace, and was alſo concerned that Flanders ſhould not be loſt: that he had made *ce pas d'avance*, in telling the king his thoughts upon the terms; and had ſome reaſon to hope, that France might have been contented with them, if his majeſty had fallen into the ſame mind: that he was very ſorry the king's thoughts had been ſo different from his, and ſuch as he is ſure he cannot agree to, if he be a man of honour, conſidering how he ſtands engaged to his allies: that he is not at all confident, he could have brought them to what he had propoſed; but ſhould, however, have endeavoured it, and whenever his majeſty's thoughts came nearer his, that he ſhall be ſtill glad to know them: but he now looked upon the campaign as begun, and believed, at the very time we talked, the guns were playing before Valenciennes, and that the ſucceſs of the campaign would every day change the pretenſions of the parties in point of the peace: that, for his own part, he now ſaw no hopes of it; but expected a very long war, unleſs Flanders ſhould be wholly loſt; and, in that caſe, the States muſt make the beſt terms they could: but he confeſſed he was of the Spaniards mind, that it was better to loſe Flanders by a war than by a peace: that he believed Valenciennes would be taken, and perhaps St. Omers too; and the more towns were taken, the more difficult the peace would

would be, ſince there could be found no equivalent for them upon a treaty: that he expected a very ill beginning of the campaign, and to make an ill figure in it himſelf; at leaſt, till the Germans took the field: but he was in, and muſt go through with it; and the beſt was, that few campaigns end as they begin: that he gave his majeſty thanks for his offer of handing any propoſition from him to France; but that was never his meaning; for, if it had, he could eaſily have found a directer way: but his intention was to enter into a confidence with his majeſty alone upon that ſubject; and to owe a peace to him, if they had agreed upon the terms. But if any thing be propoſed to France otherwiſe than as his majeſty's own thoughts, it muſt be from the alliance, and not particularly from him.

I aſked his highneſs, whether he would not write to the king upon this ſubject; but he excuſed it upon his having ſo many other diſpatches laſt night upon his hands, and his going ſo early this morning to the Hague; upon which he deſired me to let his majeſty know all we had been able to ſay upon it: I repeated it to him as near as I could to what he had ſaid; and upon his approving of it, immediately ſet it down in writing according to what I have tranſmitted now to you.

His highneſs went this morning by five o'clock towards the Hague, and talks of going from thence in eight or ten days. I have ſtaid here till this afternoon upon the diſpatch of my letters, that I might not loſe this poſt; but am now returning towards Nimeguen; and ſhall not lengthen this trouble beyond the aſſurances of my being ever, Sir, your, &c.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

My Lord, Nimeguen, March 26, N. S. 1677.

I WERE not excuſable to offer your lordſhip many troubles of this kind, at a time I know you have ſo many of another; yet having lately received an intimation from my ſon, of your lordſhip's deſire to know if I had lately heard of any project offered by the French to the prince of Orange towards a peace; I thought it became me to tell your lordſhip myſelf, that ſince the account I gave Mr. Secretary Williamſon of what paſſed at my laſt interview with his highneſs at Soeſdyke, I have not heard of any thing of that kind, farther than the jealouſies of don Pedro de Ronquillo, about ſome private negotiations between them upon the articles of the marine treaty, which he the more apprehends by the delays of the Dutch ambaſſadors to enter into that matter here, as they pretended to do within few days after the exchange of the pretenſions between the parties. If there be any thing of that kind on foot, I believe it is between the mareſchal d'Eſtrades and the penſioner, by the intervention of one Peſſer (as I remember his name is) who was penſioner of the town of Maeſtricht when the French took it; and who has kept up a correſpondence of letters with the mareſchal ever ſince his return into Holland.

The penſioner had formerly ſhewed me ſeveral of thoſe letters in general terms, about the advantages the State might find in a peace with France. And when I was laſt at the Hague, he told me, he newly received two with very particular overtures: I would fain have ſeen them, but he excuſed it, upon knowing that I was bound to give an account of them to court; and ſuſpecting that no other uſe would be made of them there, but communicating all to France,

which

which would loſe the penſioner's credit upon ſuch occaſions.

On the other ſide, monſieur Colbert and d'Avaux have told me, that the reaſon of their maſter's ſending monſieur d'Eſtrades hither inſtead of the duke de Vitry (who was in the firſt commiſſion) was, the poſſeſſion he had given the miniſters in France of the great correſpondences he had in Holland. Upon which point, though I know he is very pretending, yet I do not think it goes farther than what I have mentioned, and had not reached any thing particular with the prince when I ſaw him laſt.

Beſides, I left his highneſs fully reſolved upon the proſecution of the war this campaign, without more thoughts of the peace, after that tranſaction with his majeſty had failed: and I hear don John has not only performed with him in what payments were due to the admiralty at Amſterdam, but in an advance of 50,000 crowns, and a fund for the reſt of his highneſs's perſonal debts from Spain, and likewiſe had eſtabliſhed a courſe that will not fail, for the tranſmitting two hundred thouſand crowns a month for the affairs of Flanders and payment of the allies. So that I do not well ſee what can prevent the courſe of this campaign, unleſs the emperor ſhould fail in what he aſſured the prince of Orange, concerning the motions and conduct of the German armies, either by the uncertainty of the counſels of Vienna, between the differing factions of the duke of Lorrain and Montecuculi in that court; or by the faultering of ſome of the princes of Germany in the alliance, which has been of late ſuſpected of the dukes of Lunenburg. In theſe caſes, or any other that ſhall hinder the German armies from drawing off the French forces from Flanders into Germany, it will not be in the power of the prince of Orange and the Spainards to ſave the reſt of Flanders this ſummer: and what meaſures that will draw on;

of force, between his highneſs and France, I cannot tell; but otherwiſe, if the Germans perform what they have promiſed their allies, it may be a warm ſummer on that ſide; and the poor remainder of Flanders, after the loſs of St. Omers and Cambray (which the French ambaſſadors here aſſure themſelves of) may be ſaved by diverſion; for otherwiſe it never can.

Thus I believe that affair plays at preſent. In the mean time I muſt confeſs to your lordſhip, I was troubled to find the prince go into the field ſo ill ſatisfied with that ſcheme of peace which his majeſty, by Mr. Secretary Williamſon's letter, ordered me to communicate to him; and the more, becauſe ſome words he let fall in the heat of diſcourſe, made me doubt, if he ſhould have a mind hereafter to make any overtures to France, he might do it by ſome other way than by his majeſty. For as to the thing itſelf, he thought what the king propoſed was the utmoſt that France would have aſked: nay, he ſaid, he had reaſon to believe, when he ſpoke to me firſt, that France would have accepted even what his highneſs mentioned, if his majeſty would but have propoſed it as his own opinion; and he wondered his majeſty would not make that pace, and, at leaſt, ſend his highneſs the anſwer of France upon it. Then, for the manner, he was as much unſatisfied, as with the matter of it. He ſaid, Mr. Secretary Williamſon thought he could make him miſtake the thing, by giving it *un autre tour*; and that he could ſatisfy him with *la crême foitée*: and aſked, why ſuch dealing with ſo plain a man as he (the prince) was? and ſaid, that if he had thought *qu'on auroit pris l'affaire de cet air là* he would never have troubled them with it in England, and could have found a nearer way to France.

I ſaid what I could to ſatisfy him; but he has a way of falling downright into the bottom of a buſineſs, and is to be dealt with no other way that ever I could find;

and

and upon this occaſion ſaid a great deal very ſharply of ſome of the king's miniſters dealing artificially with him, and believing they could talk him into any thing; which, he ſaid, was not a way to do buſineſs, and only ſhewed the mean opinion they had of him, that they thought was to be dealt with by ſuch methods as thoſe. I am ever, my lord, your, &c.

To Mr. Hyde.

SIR, Nimeguen, May 21, N. S. 1677.

I Am to acknowledge the favour of one from you of the 8th, and the teſtimonies it gave me of the continuance of your kindneſs to me, and remembrance of our converſation here, which, I queſtion not, will begin again where it ended, at what time, or in what place ſoever it happens to be renewed. Since you tell me, you know no more of your return hither than I find by your letter, I will enter no farther upon a diſcourſe you ſeem reſolved to let fall, but attend the effect of thoſe good words you give me, about employing me in your ſervice here, when you begin to look this way. I ſuppoſe this day will for the preſent have turned your thoughts upon another ſcene, and by the motions whereof they have either hope or fear that the meaſures of this will be influenced.

For my part, I am ſo much a ſtranger to the counſels in England, that I cannot pretend to give myſelf the leaſt account of them upon this occaſion, and much leſs to other men that are very inquiſitive after them; and am very well content to be ſo; for, you know, all my politics are at an end with that of my late negotiation at the Hague: and I pretend no more than to do a plain duty while I am in theſe employments, and paſs a private eaſy life after this is ended; and, inſtead of care to mend the world, buſy my thoughts no farther than with that of mending myſelf. All we

wiſh is, that we might at one time or other loſe the reproach I told you, of *fluctuation perpetuelle*, and reſolve for good and all what ends and points are fitteſt for us to purſue, and then bend our endeavours in ſteady courſes to bring them about; and when one way fails, try another, as we have good examples. And I think in politics, as well as morals, it is a good queſtion of one of your friends and mine, though our colleague's enemy;

Eſt aliquid quo tendis, et in quod dirigis arcum;
An paſſim ſequeris corvos?

And there I leave all theſe kind of thoughts, and wiſh you happy ſucceſs in this ſeſſion of parliament you are entering, and the good fortunes and entertainments you propoſe to yourſelf at court, or any where, and to myſelf many occaſions of expreſſing how much I am your moſt faithful and moſt humble ſervant.

To my Lord Biſhop of Rocheſter.

My Lord, Nimeguen, May 21, N. S. 1677.

I Am unacquainted with thanks or praiſes, having ſo little deſerved any, that I muſt judge of them rather by the report of others, than by any experience of my own. But if by either, I underſtand any thing of them, all the charm or value they have, ariſes from the eſteem a man has of the perſon that gives them, or the belief in ſome meaſure of his own deſerving them. The firſt of theſe circumſtances gave ſo great an advantage to thoſe I had lately the honour of receiving from your lordſhip in a letter delivered me by Mr. Dolben, that the want of the other was but neceſſary to allay the vanity they might otherwiſe have given me. But where a man can find no ground to flatter himſelf upon the thanks he receives, he begins

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to conſider whether they are praiſe or reproach; and ſo, I am ſure, I have reaſon to do in the acknowledgments your lordſhip is pleaſed to make me of any favours to your ſon, who has never yet been ſo kind to me, as to give me the leaſt occaſion of obliging him. I confeſs, I ſhould have been glad to meet with any, though I do not remember ſo much as ever to have told him ſo; but if he has gueſſed it from my countenance or converſation, it is a teſtimony of his obſerving much, and judging well, which are qualities I have thought him guilty of, among thoſe others that allow me to do him no favour but juſtice only in eſteeming him. It is his fortune to have been beforehand with me, by giving your lordſhip an occaſion to take notice of me, and thereby furniſhing me with a pretence of entering into your ſervice, which gives him a new title to any I can do him, and your lordſhip a very juſt one to employ me upon all occaſions.

Notwithſtanding your lordſhip's favourable opinion, I will aſſure you, it is well for me, that our work here requires a little ſkill, and that we have no more but forms to deal with in this congreſs, while the treaty is truly in the field, where the conditions of it are yet to be determined. *Fata viam invenient*; which is all I can ſay of it; nor ſhall I increaſe your lordſhip's preſent trouble beyond the profeſſions of my being, my lord, your lordſhip's moſt obedient, humble ſervant.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

My Lord, Nimeguen, June 25, N. S. 1677.

IF I pretended to make your lordſhip the acknowledgments I owe for the honour and kindneſs of your laſt letter, this, I am ſure, would be made up of nothing elſe; and therefore, when I have aſſured your lordſhip, that no man could be more obliged than

than I was by it, nor more ſenſible than I was upon it; I ſhall tell you, without more circumſtance, what my thoughts have amounted to upon the conſideration of that propoſal you are pleaſed to make me from the king. His majeſty has always been ſo gracious to me, but ſo much more particularly in the opinion of my being capable of ſerving him in that ſtation your lordſhip mentions, that if I were worth that ſum, or a greater than what, it ſeems, Mr. Secretary Coventry expects, I would the readieſt in the world lay it down, either upon this occaſion, or any other, or upon none at all beſides the leaſt ſignification of his majeſty's pleaſure. But in the condition of my fortune, I will aſſure your lordſhip, it were as eaſy for me to coin it, as to find it any other ways; my father living ſtill, and keeping the whole eſtate of the family; and the beſt huſbandry in ſuch employments as mine have been reaching no farther than to bring the year about, unleſs, upon the change of them, ſome preſents attend it. But, if either it ſhould arrive that I ſhould out-live my father, who is very infirm, or that this employment ſhould end with the preſents uſual to mediators, I ſhall leave it wholly to his majeſty to command me how to diſpoſe of any thing I ſhall thereby poſſeſs: and I am of opinion, upon the general proſpect I have into the affairs of Chriſtendom, from my ſtation here, that I ſhall eaſily ſee to an end of this employment, as ſoon as this campaign is done; and that within three months after, we ſhall either fall into the war, or ſhall ſee a peace of one ſort or other.

In either of theſe caſes, my figure here determines, and ſhall do ſo in Holland too, if his majeſty gives me leave; and the preſents of this laſt will bring ſomething into my purſe, though the other ſhould fail, and go a little way towards what your lordſhip propoſes. And it is poſſible, that in the mean while I may be a little

little neceſſary to his majeſty's honour in this very poſt, where it happens unfortunately, that though the wiſe paces a miniſter makes may never be worth taking notice of, yet he lies every day in the way of making ill ones; and upon them lies as open both to his majeſty's diſhonour and his own, as perhaps in any employment of the world beſides.

Upon Mr. Secretary Coventry's part in ſuch a delay, I can ſay little, but hope his majeſty will be content, at the leaſt, for ſo long to keep a good ſervant, inſtead of hazarding an ill one: and, I think, the bargain between my lord Arlington and Mr. Secretary Williamſon depended a great deal longer than this can do; though, as I remember, it was but ſix thouſand pounds that was given between them, and my lord Arlington gave my lord St. Albans ten. And if his majeſty ſhould have a mind, in the mean time, to excuſe himſelf from admitting any other, by ſaying, he is engaged; he may very well do it upon what he was pleaſed to ſay to me in the year 1674, after the peace was made, when I made my acknowledgments, as well as excuſes, upon the offer of going ambaſſador into Spain, that he intended me a better thing; and that though he was then engaged, yet, when it fell again, I ſhould have it. I do not ſay this to lay the leaſt hold in the world upon any ſuch promiſe, but to furniſh his majeſty with the excuſe of being engaged, if he ſhould think fit; otherwiſe it is a thing I abſolutely forget whenever his majeſty does ſo: and if he finds any other perſon he thinks fit to bring into the place, I ſhall however, upon my return from hence, either in any other ſtation, or in none, endeavour, the reſt of my life, to deſerve his majeſty's opinion of being either as good a ſervant, or at leaſt as good a ſubject as any he has.

I had a letter this laſt week from the prince, wherein he was pleaſed to give me ſome account of monſieur Ben-

Bentinck's journey and return extremely to his highneſs's ſatisfaction, as to all that paſſed from his majeſty upon that occaſion. As to your lordſhip's part, he ſays theſe words: *Je l'avois particulierement adreſſé à monſieur le grand treſorer; qui en a uſé d'une maniere ſi obligeante, & lui a parlé avec tant de franchiſe, que je ne puis m'en aſſez louër.* If he can ſucceed in the deſires I know he has, of making a journey into England when the campaign ends, I believe ſo much of his inclinations towards a peace (that may, in any kind, ſave his honour and the reſt of Flanders) that I am confident the king and his highneſs, if they meet, will take their meaſures together upon that matter, and upon the future conduct of both their allies.

I aſk your lordſhip's pardon for ſo long a trouble; which yet muſt not end without the repetition of all the moſt ſenſible acknowledgments that can be made you for ſo much favour as has obliged me to be for ever, and with as much reaſon as paſſion, my lord, your, &c.

To Sir John Temple.

SIR, Sheen, Auguſt ——, 1677.

SINCE the account I gave you lately from Nimeguen of my ſon's coming to me, the errand he was ſent on, and the anſwer I had returned thereupon to his majeſty, I thought that affair would have ſlept, at leaſt for ſome time: but within a fortnight after I received, by expreſs, a command to repair immediately into England, without ſo much as any notice of the occaſion. I accordingly left Nimeguen the 5th of July, and had a very good paſſage over in a yacht that was ſent for me to the Briel. The firſt time I ſaw the king he was pleaſed to call me into his cloſet, and to tell me, I knew the occaſion of my coming over from what my lord treaſurer had lately writ

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to me by his command; that he had ſeen my anſwer, and was, however, reſolved I ſhould come into that poſt: that he knew no man was ſo fit to ſerve him in it as I; and ſince he found I was not able to bear the charge of coming into it, he was content to do it himſelf: that upon my coming over, ſecretary Coventry had taken a great alarm; and though he had before been willing to part with his place upon the terms my lord treaſurer had propoſed to him, yet he had, upon this occaſion, come to him (the king) and told him the reports he met with from all hands, of my being ſent for over to come into his office: that he hoped he had, at leaſt, deſerved, by ſo long ſervices, not to be turned off without giving him ſo much time, that his friends and the world might ſee it was a choice of his own, rather than the king's. His majeſty ſaid, he had told him, that he need not trouble himſelf any farther about it, and that when he took ſuch a reſolution, he would tell him of it himſelf; and that this was all he had ſaid till he ſpoke with me.

I give his majeſty my humble thanks, as became me upon ſuch an occaſion; but ſaid, I thought ſecretary Coventry had great reaſon in what he deſired: that he was a very worthy gentleman, and had ſerved him long; and therefore I made it my humble ſuit to his majeſty, that he would not part with him to make room for me, till he himſelf ſhould be content. The king bid me ſpeak with my lord treaſurer about it; and ſo this matter reſts; and I am ſure ſhall do ſo for me; for my friends muſt pardon me if I cannot overcome the coldneſs I have at heart upon this occaſion; to ſay no more.

Some days after, the king ſeeming to be in great apprehenſions for the prince of Orange's perſon, upon the hazards he is continually expoſed to, and likewiſe for the ſucceſs of the preſent campaign; conſidering the

the French forces now in the field, and how ill the prince is ſeconded by his allies, told me he had a mind I ſhould go over to him, and try, whether he would fall into ſuch terms of a peace, as his majeſty might hope to get accepted by France: that in caſe any ſuch could be agreed on before the campaign ended, he ſhould be glad to ſee the prince here, having conſented to it when monſieur Bentinck was in England. I told his majeſty, that I was confident he knew the prince's mind upon the terms of a peace, without ſending to him, by all that paſſed in that negotiation between the prince and me laſt winter; and that I believed nothing could alter him, unleſs it were ſome great change of affairs, by the good or ill ſucceſs of this campaign, which was not yet near an end: and when it was done, ſince his majeſty was content the prince ſhould come over, they would much eaſier agree when they were together, than by any miniſter between them, in how much confidence ſoever.

I was extremely preſſed for ſome days upon this journey, and had no mind to it, knowing how unwelcome it would be to the prince while he was in the field, for many reaſons; and how ill it would anſwer the end for which his majeſty intended it; and therefore, at laſt, told the king and duke together, that if they were reſolved to make the trial, I deſired they would do it by another hand: that I had ſpent all my ſhot laſt winter, and left the prince fixed upon a ſtand, which, I was ſure, he would make good as long as he could: that Mr. Hyde was now idle here; who having upon his return from Poland received a commiſſion to appear as one of the king's mediators during the ſhort ſtay he ſhould make at Nimeguen; and there being now but one ambaſſador of the king's there, I thought there was nothing ſo proper, as for Mr. Hyde to return to Nimeguen in that figure, how little ſoever there was to do; ſince, by our original commiſſion, there ought

to

to be two to act in that mediation: that upon his journey he might see the prince of Orange, and pursue such instructions as his majesty should give him upon that occasion.

This was approved and resolved on; and Mr. Hyde is well enough pleased with the employment; which renews his character at Nimeguen, that was before but a compliment to him as he passed by that place: though I have, as a friend, told him before-hand what success he is like to meet in his journey to the prince; and he reckons upon it.

This is all the present account I can give you of myself, whatever you will meet with in the newspapers that run abroad, and have made me secretary of state already: so that I receive twenty impertinent compliments upon it, and applications for places in office. But I am, I thank God, in an easy place here at Sheen, where I spend all the time I can possibly, and never saw any thing pleasanter than my garden, and the country and river about it, which I was grown almost a stranger to. I think here often of Sancho, that said, he had got nothing by his government, but the knowledge that he was not fit to govern any thing besides his sheep. And that I have got by knowing a court, and the course of public affairs, that I am not fit to serve in one, nor to manage the other; which is all I shall say in excuse of my conduct: and you, and my friends, will be content I shall at least take a little breath, and see the issue of the present campaign abroad, and of the prince's journey hither at the end of it, before I take any new measures, or fall into any new engagements.

My wife and family continue still at Nimeguen; only my sister and Jack are with me here, and both seem as kind to Sheen as I am. We are confident you would be so too, if you could resolve of seeing it once since the alterations made here; that you might

have

have a ſhare in the pleaſure of them, as well as you had in the charge.

We long to hear of your good health, having, I doubt, loſt ſome letters by our ſudden removals. I am ever, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir John Temple.

SIR, London, Nov. ——, 1677.

THOUGH I do not trouble you often with public news or buſineſs, yet I am ſenſible of having too much neglected it of late, conſidering what has paſſed; which, I know, you will be more pleaſed with than any you have been entertained with a great while. For I remember how often and how much you have deſired to ſee the prince of Orange married here; not only from your good wiſhes to him, but from your apprehenſions of ſome greater matches that might befal us, and with conſequences ill enough to poſterity, as well as to the preſent age. I am in a good deal of haſte at this preſent time, and therefore ſhall ſum up a great deal in a little room. The prince of Orange came to the king at Newmarket, where he was mighty well received both of king and duke. I made the acquaintance there between the prince and my lord treaſurer; and in ſuch a manner, as, though they were not at all known before to one another, yet they fell very ſoon into confidence.

The prince ſaid not a word to any of them of any thoughts of a wife while they ſtaid at Newmarket; and told me, no conſiderations ſhould move him in that affair, till he had ſeen the lady. The day after he ſaw her here, he moved it to the king and duke, and though he did it with ſo good a grace, that it was very well received, yet, in four or five days treaty, it proved to be entangled in ſuch difficulties, that the prince ſent for me one night, and uttering his whole

heart, told me, he was reſolved to give it over, repenting him from the heart of his journey, and would be gone within two days, and truſt God Almighty with what would follow; and ſo went to bed the moſt melancholy that ever I ſaw him in my life; yet before eleven o'clock the next morning, the king ſent me to him, to let him know, he was reſolved on the match, and that it ſhould be done immediately, and in the prince's own way.

Thus far what had paſſed went no farther than the king, the duke, the prince, my lord treaſurer, and me: but that afternoon it was declared at the foreign committee, and next day at council; you will eaſily imagine with what general joy. I cannot but tell you, that no man ſeems to lay it to heart ſo much as my lord Arlington, having had no part in it; which he could not but take notice of to the prince, who told me, his compliment to him upon it was, that ſome things, though they were good in themſelves, yet were ſpoiled by the manner of doing them; but this was in itſelf ſo good, that the manner of doing it could not ſpoil it. I am told he lays it upon me, and will never forgive me; which I muſt bear as well as I can: but yet, becauſe you know how we have formerly lived, I will tell you, that it was not only impoſſible my lord treaſurer and he ſhould concur in one thing, but he had likewiſe loſt all the prince's confidence and opinion, ſince his laſt journey into Holland. Beſides, for my own part, I found theſe two years paſt, he could not bear my being ſo well neither with the prince, nor with the treaſurer; but endeavoured by Sir Gabriel Sylvius to break the firſt, by ſteps which the prince, acquainted me with; nor could he hold reproaching me with the laſt whenever I went to him; though he himſelf had firſt adviſed me to apply myſelf to my lord treaſurer all I could, upon my laſt embaſſy into Holland. And though I had ever ſince told them

both, I would live well with them both, let them live as ill as they would one with another; and my lord treasurer had been so reasonable as to be contented with it.

Since the marriage, the king and the prince have fallen into the business abroad, and agreed upon the terms of a peace, which the king will offer to France, and such as, they both conclude, will secure Flanders. They both agree, that I must of necessity go to Paris immediately upon this errand, and bring a positive answer from that court within a time prefixed. I never undertook any journey more unwillingly, knowing in what opinion I stand already at that court; how deeply they resent the prince's match without their communication, or the least word to their ambassador here; and with how little reason I can hope to be the welcomer for this errand. But the king will absolutely have it; and so I have made all my small preparations, and think to be gone within two days; which is all at present, but to ask your blessing, and assure you of my being, Sir, your, &c.

To the Prince of Orange.

London, December 8, 1677.

May it please your Highness,

I SHOULD by last post have rejoiced with your highness upon the news of your happy arrival, and upon the resolutions that have been taken here since you went, in those affairs wherein your highness is so deeply concerned; but that my lord treasurer's letter to you upon this subject was so long and so particular, that nothing could be added to it for your highness's information or satisfaction; and therefore I resolved not to trouble you with the same thing by that post, and from so much a worse hand. I suppose my lord ambassador Hyde will have shewed your highness his instructions, and Mr. Secretary's letter upon that

hat occaſion, which agreeing ſo fully with what my ord treaſurer writ, muſt have left you in no doubt hoſe reſolutions being taken here: and yet I thought our highneſs would not be diſpleaſed to know from ne, that I am of opinion they are ſo; and, which is nore, that the duke will go up to as great a height in hem as any man, in caſe France gives them the oc-aſion, by their anſwer to what Mr. Montague goes way with to-day; and that his highneſs will abſolutely conclude from thence, what their good intentions are or have been to the king: though I have this ſecond time excuſed myſelf from attending upon your high-neſs, and thereby devolved his majeſty's commands upon Mr. Hyde once more, yet I hope your highneſs will pardon me, ſince I have only reſerved myſelf for the next occaſion, which, I expect, will be of more moment, and within a very little time. For the preſent, I only deſire your highneſs will pleaſe to give your an-ſwer to what Mr. Hyde carries you, in ſuch manner as may be fully to his majeſty's ſatisfaction; and if you ſhall ſcruple the doing it to any other hand, that you would, at leaſt, do it in a private letter to his majeſty's own, which may not go farther than to thoſe hands by which all your highneſs's concerns have hitherto been tranſacted.

I hope your highneſs will think to write particularly to the duke, as well as to the king, in acknowledgment and applauſe of theſe late reſolutions; and my lord treaſurer will deſerve it too, by the great part he has had in them.

I aſk your highneſs's pardon for the length and con-fidence of this letter, and your juſtice in believing me ever, what I ſhall ever be, with a perfect devotion, Sir, your highneſs's, &c.

The King's Speech intended in the Parliament, drawn up at my Lord Treaſurer's deſire, April 27, 1678. (See Vol. II. p. 433.)

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I INTENDED to have met you ſooner, but found it neceſſary to defer it for ſome few days, that I might diſcourſe more freely and clearly to you upon the preſent conjunctures; and that we might perfectly underſtand one another, which, I am confident, we now ſhall do, and this day end all diſtruſts and jealouſies between us; becauſe I know we mean the ſame things, which are, the honour and ſafety of theſe kingdoms, the preſervation of Flanders, and preventing the growth of the French power.

I was ſome time in hopes to have attained theſe ends by the exerciſe of my mediation in purſuit of a peace, which I thought the more neceſſary by obſerving the bent of ſome of the confederates towards it, and the ill conduct of the war by others; while I received, at the ſame time, frequent aſſurances from France, that they never intended the conqueſt of Flanders, but deſired a reaſonable peace; and ſhould very far conſider my offices and thoughts upon the conditions of it.

But ſeeing the ſtate of the war ſo much changed, and Flanders ſo much endangered by the events of laſt campaign, I thought it neceſſary for the ſafety of theſe kingdoms (and, indeed, that of Chriſtendom) ſo far to enforce my mediation, as to propoſe laſt winter to France ſuch terms of a peace as I had reaſon to believe the confederates would accept, and as I was ſure, would leave Flanders defenſible; which, at that time, I doubted would hardly be ſo by continuing the war: and I had not much reaſon to doubt of France; becauſe their refuſal would plainly diſcover their deſign of conquering Flanders (contrary to all their profeſſions)

feſſions) ſince both they and I knew it could not be ſecured without a frontier, as I propoſed for it. Upon the difficulties made by France to accept theſe conditions, and finding Holland would not continue the war, otherwiſe than in purſuit, and with the proſpect of a peace, I immediately made two alliances with them: one of mutual defence, and the other offenſive againſt France, in caſe they would not accept the terms I had propoſed; which were theſe,

That they ſhould reſtore to Spain the towns of Charleroy, Aeth, Oudenarde, Courtray, Tournay, Valenciennes, Condé, with their dependencies; and all others which ſhould be taken after that time (as St. Giſlain, Ghent, and Ypres have unfortunately been). That they ſhould reſtore all they had taken in Sicily (which is a care now happily prevented): that they ſhould reſtore Maeſtricht to the Dutch, and Lorrain to the duke of that name. That the peace of the emperor ſhould be made upon the foot of affairs at that time, by which Philipſburgh would have remained to the empire, and the loſs of Friburgh would have been prevented. That, becauſe the peace of the north could not be adjuſted in ſo ſhort a time, a truce ſhould be concluded there, till by the purſuit of our mediation a peace could be agreed on.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I am not aſhamed to own publickly this ſcheme of a peace, both to you here, and to all the world abroad; as what I thought moſt agreeable with the duty of a mediator, and with what I owed to the ſafety of my own kingdoms, and the regard I had to your ſatisfaction in the juſt concernment you had ſo often expreſſed for the preſervation of Flanders; which I knew might be much eaſier defended after the reſtoring thoſe towns, than before it. But, I will confeſs, I am aſhamed to find myſelf ſo much deceived, as I have been by France upon this occaſion; who, contrary to

all they have ſo often profeſſed and promiſed me, have cut off all hopes of any reaſonable peace by which Flanders might be ſafe; but, on the other ſide, making difficulties, firſt upon one town, then upon another (as the neceſſity of the Spaniards, or diſpoſitions of the Dutch gave them occaſion) they have all along too plainly diſcovered their deſigns of carrying on the war to the full conqueſt of Flanders; whilſt they endeavour to amuſe the world, and us in particular, with the diſcourſes or overtures of a peace.

Yet in the laſt they have made, they include the preſent reſtitution of Sweden, and the Duke of Holſtein; though they confine the peace they offer to the 10th of May. They will, indeed, keep Lorain, whilſt they pretend to reſtore it; for they will keep Nancy, Marſal, and the highways through that country: and they will have Tournay, Valenciennes, Condé, and Ypres, which are the very keys of Flanders on that ſide; beſides Dinant or Charlemont, on the other.

I would not confeſs to you how much I have been deceived by them in theſe practices, and in thoſe they have ſince begun with the Dutch upon this occaſion, if I were not reſolved to be ſo no more: and I will tell you plainly, that I ſhould immediately have declared the war upon the diſcovery of them, but that I found it neceſſary firſt to make my alliances with the reſt of the confederates, and therein to purſue the good advice you hinted to me yourſelves, in one of your addreſſes, to provide that none of the parties engaged in the confederacy ſhould lay down their arms, or depart from their alliances: as likewiſe, that none of them ſhould hold any commerce or trade with the French king, or his ſubjects, during the war.

Both theſe points I have been endeavouring to ſecure now for ſome time, but have been delayed in them, contrary to my expectation, by the Dutch ambaſſadors wanting powers, or inſtructions, to conclude upon

thoſe two particulars. And, I doubt, in the laſt, your too great haſte in forbidding French commodities was the occaſion of the Dutch declining what before they had offered in ſo material a point. I ſay not this at all to reproach you, becauſe I know your meaning was good; and becauſe, in a time when the ſafety of Chriſtendom, as well as our own, ſeems to lie at ſtake, we ought all to look forward upon what is beſt to be done, and not backward upon what occaſions are loſt, or what errors have paſſed; or what, in ſhort, is now paſt remedy.

God be thanked, I have at length retrieved this point in a great meaſure, and find the miniſters of the confederates now ready to conclude our treaties for carrying on the war by common conſent, and purſuing it according to ſuch ſucceſſes as God Almighty ſhall pleaſe to give to ſo juſt and neceſſary an undertaking. I have, in the mean time, made my levies of land forces, and my preparations for ſea, according to the ſcheme and proportions you yourſelves deſigned. I have already ſent ——— thouſand men over into Flanders, and have ——— thouſand more ready to ſend after them; and am ready to declare the war, immediately upon the ſigning of our treaties: but firſt reſolved to have your advice upon it, now I have laid the whole affair before you. For your aſſiſtances I doubt them not at all, conſidering the many aſſurances you have given me upon this occaſion, and the zeal you have ever expreſſed to the ſafety, honour, and true intereſts of the nation; in which, I doubt not, but we ſhall always agree.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

My Lord, Sheen, May 18th, 1678.

FINDING myſelf ſomething recovered of my illneſs, which hindered me from waiting upon your lord-

ſhip before I left the town, I could not but let you know how very ſenſible I was of what you laſt told me, with ſo much kindneſs, about his majeſty and royal highneſs having been ſo much diſpleaſed with ſome of my late diſcourſes to his majeſty; though your lordſhip could not tell me more of them, than that they were ſome popular notions: as likewiſe the great diſſatisfaction his majeſty would receive at the difficulties I made to enter into an affair which belonged not at all to my poſt; and wherein his majeſty had not done me the honour to acquaint me with the deliberation or digeſtion of it. I muſt confeſs, the ſenſe of his majeſty's diſpleaſure (which I never deſerved) has been ſo great a mortification to me, that, to ſhew how much I have ever been concerned in his majeſty's ſervice and ſatisfaction, and how little in any advantages of my own, I have reſolved moſt humbly to lay at his majeſty's feet, not only my two preſent embaſſies, but alſo the promiſe of the ſecretary's place, which his majeſty was pleaſed long ſince to make me ſo graciouſly, and of his motion. Therefore, whenever his majeſty pleaſes to order me a letter of revocation to the States General (which I ſhall ſend over to my ſecretary at the Hague) and give me leave to ſend for both my families away from the Hague and Nimeguen, I ſhall upon it come and beg the honour of kiſſing his majeſty's hand, and make him my humble acknowledgments for the undeſerved honours he hath done me, by ſo many and ſo great employments abroad, as well as by deſigning me ſo much a greater at home. I ſhall at the ſame time aſſure his majeſty of my reſolutions to paſs the reſt of my life in the conſtant and hearty wiſhes and prayers for the honour and ſafety of his majeſty and his kingdoms; and that, how mean a ſervant ſoever I have been, he ſhall find me as good a ſubject as any man alive.

For what I ought to ſay to your lordſhip upon this occaſion, I ſhall leave it till I wait upon you; being reſolved,

reſolved, by all means poſſible, to preſerve the honour of ſo long an acquaintance, and of ſo much favour as your lordſhip's to me. And as, during all my employments, I never yet aſked any thing of his majeſty, beſides the bare pay of them, nor ever uſed to trouble your lordſhip about any buſineſs of my own, ſo I ſhall continue the ſame courſe at the end of them, and leave to my wife the purſuit of what his majeſty owes me upon them; that ſo your lordſhip may ever reckon upon all the ſervices, and never upon any trouble from, my lord, your lordſhip's, &c.

To the Duke of Ormond.

My Lord, London, July 2, 1678.

THE account I gave your grace by my brother of my not writing, was ſo true, that, though I was very ſorry I had it for ſo long together, yet, I know, your grace was ſo juſt as to receive it. I will not preſume to ſay it is now at an end, becauſe that God Almighty can only tell; but yet thus much is certain, that I am juſt now going aboard for Holland, and upon ſuch meaſures as his majeſty ſeems more reſolved to purſue, than ever I thought to ſee him, in caſe the States will be prevailed with to fall into them. He will be ſure to have all the help the prince can give him, who ſeems to have recovered a new ſoul upon this incident from France; which has given, at leaſt, the appearance and overture of new meaſures in the world. The truth is, this refuſal to reſtore the Spaniſh and Dutch towns till the reſtitution of Sweden, has been ſo plain language, that it has at preſent opened many eyes both here and in Holland, which have long been ſhut to all our coſt; but whether they are proof againſt all charms, I will not venture to determine: I can only aſſure your grace, that the duke

duke has been the moſt conſtant that can be imagined, in this opinion of the French deſigns and intentions to his majeſty, ever ſince my lord Feverſham's return; and declared himſelf the plaineſt that ever I heard, yeſterday at the foreign committee, that nothing could be more evident, than that France intended a univerſal monarchy, and nothing but England could hinder it; and that, without it, the king would endanger his crown. And for his majeſty, I have ſome particular * reaſons (which I cannot entertain your grace with at this diſtance) to believe, that he is perfectly cured of ever hoping any thing well from France, and paſt the danger of being cajoled by any future offers from thence.

So that I ſee nothing left to ſhake his preſent reſolutions, but the fear of being well ſeconded in them at home or in Holland: the laſt I ſhall ſoon be able to give his majeſty an account of; but the firſt I muſt leave to others that are better acquainted with the

* The ſecret of the king and duke's being ſo eager and hearty in their reſolutions to break with France, at this juncture, was as follows:

France, in order to break the force of the confederacy, and elude all juſt conditions of a general peace, reſolved, by any means, to enter into ſeparate meaſures with Holland; to which end, it was abſolutely neceſſary to engage the good offices of the king of England, who was looked upon to be maſter of the peace whenever he pleaſed. The bargain was ſtruck for 3 or 400 thouſand pounds. But when all was agreed, monſieur Barillon, the French ambaſſador, told the king, that he had orders from his maſter, before payment, to add a private article, by which his majeſty ſhould be engaged never to keep above eight thouſand men of ſtanding troops in his three kingdoms. This unexpected propoſal put the king in a rage, and made him ſay, '—d's fiſh! Does my brother 'of France think to ſerve me thus? Are all his promiſes to make 'me abſolute maſter of my ——, come to this? Or does he think 'that a thing to be done with eight thouſand men?'

It is poſſible, I may be a little miſtaken as to the ſums of money, and number of men; but the main of the ſtory is exactly as I had it from the author.

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ſcene where that game muſt play. I am of opinion, both that muſt be played ill, and the war managed ill, to fail, if we go into it; but I have no reaſon to believe, but both thoſe may very well befal us. All that is to be ſaid, is, that all men agree, the preſent meaſures are of abſolute neceſſity; ſince no *penchant* to a peace can bring it about, if another will have a war; and if it muſt be at one time or another, though this may be a worſe than any paſt, yet it is a better than any like to come.

This is all I can ſay worth your grace's trouble; at leaſt, if this itſelf be ſo. For, I am ſure, nothing can be ſo unneceſſary, as to repeat any of thoſe profeſſions I have ſo long made, and juſtly, of my being ever, and with as much paſſion, as, I am ſure, it is with reaſon and truth, my lord, your grace's moſt faithful and moſt humble ſervant.

To Mr. Secretary Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, July 14, N. S. 1678.

I SET ſail on board the Catharine yacht at two a-clock afternoon on Tueſday, and landed at Rotterdam about the ſame hour next day. I came immediately to the Hague, and went ſtraight to the prince at Hounſlerdyke, where I arrived about eight a-clock, and ſtaid till eleven; and thought it my duty to give his majeſty an account of our firſt diſcourſes.

When I had entertained his highneſs at large with the ſubject of my journey; the diſpoſitions raiſed in his majeſty by this laſt unexpected accident from France, upon the point of concluding the peace; the neceſſity of knowing fully the mind of the States, in order to join with them; and the firm reſolutions his majeſty had taken upon it, in caſe France perſiſted in the refuſal of the towns; and this State in not admitting the peace without it: his highneſs told me, the laſt

laſt point was the chiefeſt of all; which was, the firmneſs of his majeſty's reſolution in this matter, upon which all would depend; ſince nothing elſe could diſpoſe either France to make the peace, or this State to any firm reſolutions of continuing the war. When I had endeavoured, and, I think, ſucceeded in ſatisfying his highneſs in this point, by telling him many circumſtances in the game in England, as it has played for ſome months paſt; and many reaſons his majeſty had given me to believe how unſatisfied he had been of late with the dealing from France; the prince told me, how glad he was to receive this notice from me: that for this laſt incident in the peace from France, he could not but look upon it as a thing come down from heaven, and the happieſt that ever could have fallen out, both for his majeſty and himſelf; conſidering the great change it was like to make in this State. For he would tell me in confidence, that thoſe diſpoſitions which had been here raiſed in the State, and carried them ſo far in ſo miſchievous a peace, had been grounded upon the weakneſs and uncertainty of our conduct in England, and upon the opinion of the contrary in France; as well as upon that of their good intentions to live always fairly with this State, and to content themſelves without *pouſſant* their conqueſts any farther in Flanders: that in caſe the peace had been made upon thoſe terms accepted here, the ſame perſons and diſpoſitions that brought it about, would certainly have ended all meaſures between England and them, and throw the whole dependence of this State upon France; and that he (the prince) ſhould not have been able to hinder it: whereas the laſt incident had made ſo great a change in the minds of the magiſtrates here, and the people too, that the chief leaders in thoſe councils were come to be aſhamed of themſelves, and to confeſs their miſtakes: and if they ſhould grow to be aſſured of his majeſty's

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going into the war, and ſticking to them firmly, he did not doubt, but even after a peace, this State would come to have their dependence wholly upon England. He ſaid, he believed nevertheleſs, that if France ſhould reſtore the towns before the war broke out into new action, that this State would not be hindered from accepting the peace: but of this he ſaw no appearance, ſince the French ambaſſadors had declared ſo poſitively to thoſe of this State at Nimeguen, that their maſter was fixed in the point of not reſtoring them till the ſatisfaction of Sweden; and that monſieur de Luxemburgh had given his direct refuſal of ſuffering any more proviſions to go into Mons till the peace was ſigned: upon which he (the prince) was reſolved to go away to the army within two days; but would leave the penſioner ſo inſtructed, that I might go on with my negotiations here in his abſence.

I then told his highneſs the three points upon which his majeſty expected to receive ſatisfaction before he could take a final meaſure with this State; which were, the not making peace without mutual conſent, or, at leaſt, the fixing of certain terms to which the war ſhould extend, and a peace not to be concluded without them: the prohibition of commerce with France here as well as in England, and the mutual concert of forces. I added a fourth, which was in the foot of my inſtructions; and in caſe of any places loſt on either part, neither ſhall make peace, without being reſtored to the ſtate they were in at the time of the treaty's being concluded between us.

The prince told me, to the laſt there would be no difficulty. As to the firſt, this State would never be brought to an article of not making peace without mutual conſent, nor ſeeing ſome bounds to the war; and therefore thought the terms of the treaty of January laſt would be a good ground to treat upon; or ſuch other

other terms as ſhould be farther agreed to by conſent of parties.

For the ſecond, the ſame that monſieur Van Lewen had told his majeſty in England, that it would be very hard to gain it by a direct convention before the war; but that it was a thing muſt neceſſarily follow: for, in a war, the bottom of England failing, in which they now traded, all others would be uſed as enemies by us; and ſo there could no trade remain between France and this State while the war laſted.

I told his highneſs, I did not leave his majeſty diſpoſed to enter into the war without this point being fixed: and though the thing ſeemed like to play as his highneſs had diſcourſed; yet it was of that conſequence to the main event of the war, that I thought it would be beſt to tell the States what his majeſty abſolutely reckoned upon, and what they were like to truſt to in this matter; and to ſhew them, that, ſince it was a neceſſary conſequence of the war, it might as well be a precedent article between us. His highneſs conſented, and ſaid, follow this method.

As to the third, he was of opinion, no concert of forces could be made particular between us, but for our own mutual defence; which is done by our defenſive leagues: but for that which is the defence of Flanders, it muſt be made among all the confederates, in ſuch manner as would be moſt conducing to thoſe ends; that he ſuppoſed this State would bring an army into the field of twenty-five thouſand men, beſides their garriſons: that his majeſty muſt not go ſo near the wind in ſuch a war, as to proportion himſelf to the weak and exhauſted condition of this State (which would go as far, however, as poſſibly they could) but to the neceſſity of the war, and to what the parliament would be brought to furniſh upon ſo great an occaſion, and which they had always had ſo much at heart: that it would be fit to engage ſome of

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the princes of Germany; but not as this State has done, leaving the forces under the command of their own princes; but to have them under his majesty's command, to act where he pleased; which would make his majesty master of the war and peace, and set him at the head of affairs (which was the figure England ought to make) and draw this State and the neighbouring princes of Germany into a dependence upon him.

After this, his highness asked me, whether the king would not declare the war till the three points were concluded with the States here? I answered, that I could not say any thing certain; but that I was not impowered otherways, than upon their agreeing with his majesty in them, to conclude finally with the States; since his majesty would follow their dispositions, having consented to the peace upon their instances; and so would hope to reckon upon their firmness in it, and not breaking from him, as they had done in their last measures. The prince seemed something troubled, that his majesty would not go into the war before the granting of the three points; but he concluded, I should lose no time in entering upon the business with the States; seemed much pleased that monsieur Van Lewen was come over with me, and in sentiments so agreeable to those of his majesty; said he would endeavonr to have him immediately brought into the committee of foreign affairs, though out of method; but upon pretence of his being come from England: that he would be extreme glad he could bring monsieur Hoeft into it too; but that could not be, because he was not of the States-General: but that this incident from France had brought him and his town of Amsterdam to be for the war.

Upon this the prince said farther, though several persons here had appeared to be his enemies upon the last transactions, yet he had been so far from treating them

them ſo, that he had continued his commerce all along, and had his converſation even more with them than his friends; and by that means they were now grown to underſtand one another.

I have deſired a conference with the States commiſſioners at four this afternoon. I am ever, &c.

P. S. Juſt upon the cloſure of this letter the prince came to me, and deſired me, that I would write to his majeſty, to beg the diſpatching away of thoſe troops which monſieur Van Lewen told the States were ordered into Flanders; and that thoſe ſhips which now are ready, may be ſent out in a ſquadron to ſea, to give the French ſome jealouſy upon their coaſts, which might poſſibly make ſome diverſion now while the prince marches; and, if his majeſty thinks fit, that ſome of the troops in Flanders may have command to obey the prince's orders, in caſe he ſhould have need of them upon ſome great and preſſing occaſion.

To Mr. Secretary Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, July 15, 1678.

SINCE my laſt, which was yeſterday, I have had two conferences with the States commiſſioners. In the firſt, I expoſed to them my journey's ſubject at this time: I expreſſed to them his majeſty's ſentiments and reſolutions, in the very terms of my inſtructions; and concluded that his majeſty, as he would have entered into meaſures with them for the guaranty of the peace, ſo he would for the continuing of the war.

They returned all acknowledgments that could be of his majeſty's generous dealing. They excuſed themſelves upon their own neceſſities and the weakneſs of their allies, particularly in Flanders: that they

they had been extremely ſurprized to meet with this new accident from France; particularly ſince the reſtitution of the towns was tied up to the ſatisfaction of Sweden, without ſo much as mentioning what ſatisfaction Sweden would accept, and in what time; and, indeed, without conſenting that Sweden ſhould accept of ſuch ſatisfaction, as, perhaps, the Swedes themſelves would have been contented with. That it would now depend upon his majeſty, whether they ſhould ſubmit to the terms of any peace that France would think fit to impoſe upon them.

That, indeed, upon the evacuation of the towns by France, the peace would then be concluded; but there was no hopes of that, ſince their expreſs brought word, that the French ambaſſadors had declared at Nimeguen, that they neither had order to give any other anſwer than they had done already, nor expected to receive any from the king their maſter: and that, in a private conference between monſieur Colbert and Beverning, the firſt had told him, upon the States refuſing to accept the peace on thoſe terms, that his maſter would make them accept it, *bon gré mal gré qu'ils en ayent.* That, upon all this, they deſired me, if I had any farther lights to give them of his majeſty's intentions, in caſe the war went on, I would do it.

Hereupon I propoſed to them the four points contained in my inſtructions.

Upon the firſt I found it true, what the prince had told me, that they would not hear of a general and boundleſs conſent; ſo then I deſcended to the terms of the laſt treaty, but with ſuch further conditions, more advantageous to the ſafety of Flanders, as ſhould be agreed on by the conſent of both parties.

Upon the ſecond they made great difficulties; but I put, once for all, my whole ſtrength upon this point, and ſo told them, that the prohibition of commerce was a thing which had been long preſſed upon

his majeſty by their ambaſſador in England, that h could not believe they were not equally ſatisfied wit it here. But beſides, I told them, the thing muſt be and therefore a convention would do nothing but de clare it to the world; and that this would be th greateſt ſtep towards a peace, it being the only wa to perſuade France that we were all reſolved to go o with the war; ſince it was evident, that France ha made this laſt incident, only becauſe they though this State would accept of any peace, rather than loſ their trade any longer.

The commiſſioners told me, for themſelves, they were ſo far convinced of my reaſons, that if I had none but them to deal with, I might aſſure myſelf the thing would be done; but what their maſters would ſay to a thing in which they had always apprehended an invincible difficulty (at leaſt, till England ſhould have declared the war) they could not tell: but, however, they promiſed me to give it all the advantage they could by their office and repreſentations.

As to the third, about the proportion of forces, they ſeemed infinitely unſatisfied, that England ſhould go no more than almoſt an even pace with a ſtate ſo out of all proportion to us in ſtrength at the beſt, and ſo exhauſted as this country now is by the ſixth year of ſo great a war.

They pretended to fear, that this offer would ſhock their principles ſo far, as to make them think, that ſince England would only protract the war, without forces enough to make a good peace, they had as good receive an ill one now as hereafter.

They ſaid ſo much upon this point, that I was fain to put them in mind of the conſtitution of England, as well as their riches and forces; and how much it would depend upon parliaments, whether his majeſty would be enabled to proſecute the war with ſuch vigour as he himſelf, perhaps, would think neceſſary.

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The fourth point, of mutual guaranty to each party, upon the ſtate wherein they ſhould enter into the treaty, met with no difficulty: and ſo this conference ended.

At two this afternonn I ſaw the prince, after having appointed another conference with the States at four. He told me the news he had juſt received from Mons of a ſkirmiſh much to the advantage of the garriſon.

At the conference at four this afternoon the commiſſioners ſaid, they had acquainted the States with our laſt conference, who were extremely ſenſible of his majeſty's favour to them; but that there were two points they found of hard digeſtion, the prohibition of commerce, and the proportion of forces. However, that upon the firſt, and the reaſons I had urged, the States had reſolved, the deputies ſhould go to conſult their ſeveral towns: but for the proportion of forces, they thought it would be of ill conſequence to propoſe it to them in thoſe terms; and, therefore, had commanded them, the commiſſioners, once more to preſs me upon this point to enlarge the proportion on his majeſty's ſide. I will not trouble you with the arguments that paſſed on both ſides; but only tell you, that it ended in this article, to be propounded by the deputies to their towns, *Qu'en attendant un concert plus particulier touchant les forces que ſa majeſté & les alliés engagés en cette guerre contribueront; ſa majeſté fournira par proviſion un tiers moins de troupes en Flandres, & un tiers plus de forces de mer que celles qui ſeront fournis par cet Etat.* And ſo this conference ended, and the ſucceſs of it muſt be expected on Monday.

Monſieur Olivecrans returned this day from England. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

My Lord, Hague, July 20, N. S. 1678.

HAVING drawn up matters here to a head, at lea
as far as can be till the 5th of next month; a
beſides, the draught of our treaty, which I yet kno
not whether I can ſign, or no; becauſe I cannot t
whether they will come up to a formal article for t
prohibition of commerce; and the matter will not
of ſo preſſing haſte, while they here attend the fin
anſwer from France: I have diſpatched away M
Meredith, his majeſty's ſecretary of the embaſſy her
by the Catherine yacht, and encharged with m
main pacquet to the ſecretary; though I ſend a du
plicate both of it and my laſt diſpatch by the maſte
of the pacquet-boat's hands, that parts the ſam
day. I have charged him with my compliments i
particular to your lordſhip when he makes his own
and ſhall add as little as I can to your trouble, beſide
the ſhare of what you will have by my main diſpatch
only I cannot but mark to your lordſhip upon wha
the French ambaſſador ſaid to the Dutch, of thei
being ſure of England upon treaties being concluded
with his majeſty; that the prince tells me, monſieu
d'Avaux aſked monſieur Odyke at Nimeguen, when
ſuch treaties were made, whether the prince were not
included, and had not his ſhare in them? And when
monſieur Odyke ſaid, Not, and that he believed he
knew nothing of it, monſieur d'Avaux ſeemed much
to wonder at it. I preſume, by this ſort of dealing
among them, you may reckon upon the thing's grow-
ing public, whatever may have been private between
his majeſty and them, when the affair breaks out be-
tween us, as it is like to do, unleſs France make a
peace contrary to thoſe heights wherewith they have
hitherto treated us and all the world. If it does, his
majeſty

majesty may well put it upon the same score with many others of that kind which have been played by France; and the public notice whereof will be the only way to possess all men, both at home and abroad, with the belief of his cure beyond relapse. To hear the tricks and insinuations that have been used here, especially to have men apprehend the joint designs of his majesty and the prince upon the liberty of this people, and the resolutions of France to defend them, would make any man alive lose all patience; because it looks as if they deal with men just like so many children, and make them believe any stories of cocks and bulls, whenever it served their turn, than which nothing can look like so great a scorn; and nothing, methinks, can be less borne than that. The mask is falling off here apace, and the affairs of Christendom will, I doubt not, be put once more into his majesty's hands almost by miracle; but if he lets this knot slip again by any new fluctuation, or change of measures, it is gone for ever, and the game of Christendom, as well as his own, never to be retrieved.

The pensioner and monsieur Van Lewen tell me this evening, that they have certain intelligence of the intention of France to slight both Charleroy and Oudenarde, in case they come to an evacuation of the places in Flanders; which is directly (as they two say) contrary to the express terms of the agreement. I ought to be instructed what I am to do here in case of such an incident, even upon the execution of the peace. I hear from all hands, the French ambassadors at Nimeguen are horribly unquiet upon the transactions here; and monsieur Fagel told me, he could not but observe, that the French ambassadors could now come to theirs with this memorial, and all the fair words; whereas before, they treated them *de haut en bas, & comme des coquins.* I am so tired out with this cruel

pinch of buſineſs ſince my coming over, that thoug
I remember nothing elſe worth your lordſhip's troubl
yet if I ſhould, for the preſent, have forgot any ma
terial point, I cannot doubt your pardon to one tha
is with ſo great paſſion, and ſo perfect a truth, m
lord, your, &c.

To Sir Lionel Jenkins.

My Lord, Hague, July 20, N. S. 1678.

I Am extremely aſhamed, as well as ſorry to find two letters before me of the 16th and 28th from your lordſhip, without having the ſatisfaction of giving you any accounts from hence by the laſt poſt; the fault whereof I muſt needs lay upon Mr. Meredith, and leave him to excuſe himſelf as well as he can; yet I will ſay, not to leſſen that fault, but only that misfortune, that I could not have found very much to have informed your lordſhip from hence on Sunday laſt, beſides only the ſubject of my inſtructions, and the aſſurance of my having purſued them here. For the firſt, I preſume your lordſhip had the knowledge of them given you from the ſecretary's office about the time of my diſpatch; and for the other, I will ſo far reckon upon your lordſhip's juſtice, as to have believed it of me, whether I gave you part of it or no; however, finding myſelf this morning in poſſeſſion of one hour of leiſure, after the ſharpeſt pinch of buſineſs ever ſince I came over, that ever yet fell upon me in my life; and not being aſſured that the ſecretary's office acquitted themſelves to your lordſhip as they ought to have done upon this occaſion, and as, I am ſure, was the king's intention, I will tell your lordſhip, that the king having laid his abſolute commands upon me, about a month ſince, to go away for Nimeguen, and aſſiſt there at the concluſion of the peace (which ſeemed then ſo near) and to uſe my beſt offices,

offices, that no difficulty ſhould ariſe between the French and Spaniards, and thereby the French ſhould have no occaſion left of making any farther progreſs of their arms in Flanders; I ſubmitted to his majeſty's pleaſure, though I had often reſolved, ſince I went laſt over, never to turn my face northward any more; but I ſaw then no other way left of ſaving that little which remaineth in Flanders, conſidering the circumſtances that played here in Holland, as well as at home; and your lordſhip knows how long and how often I have told you and my other friends, that with the loſs of that country, all my politics are ended.

When I was ready, and within twenty-four hours of embarking upon this errand, your lordſhip's letter came to his majeſty's hands, giving him an account of that new incident from France, which alone, in appearance, could have obſtructed that peace, by their refuſing to evacuate the places in Flanders till the reſtitution in Sweden: I never ſaw the king more ſurprized than at this news, who ſent to me immediately to acquaint me with it; and I muſt needs ſay, that I found both the king and the duke growing ſo angry upon it, that I thought it my part to temper them as far as I could, deſiring them not to reaſon, or, at leaſt, not to conclude, upon a thing which was yet uncertain; but, in the firſt place, to be aſſured, either from the French ambaſſador, or elſe from France, whether that thing was true or no; becauſe all ſteps or reſolutions taken upon it would be forced to change, in caſe France ſhould diſown their ambaſſadors at Nimeguen, in what they advanced there upon this occaſion. His majeſty was pleaſed to follow this method, and that very night ſpoke to monſieur Barillon about it; but finding him to own no knowledge of it, and much leſs inſtructions upon it, and, indeed, not ſeeming to believe the thing, two expreſſes were diſpatched away into France the two

following days, one by monſieur Barillon, for his own inſtruction, and the other by his majeſty to Mr. Mountague, for his clear information upon the point, with orders to draw a ſudden and poſitive anſwer upon it from that court.

The day after, upon application of the Dutch ambaſſadors, repreſenting the thing to his majeſty in the ſame colours, and with the circumſtances your lordſhip had done before, together with the reſolution taken upon it by the States their maſters, not to ſubmit to ſuch a new and unreaſonable impoſition, by which they were like to loſe all the good they pretended from the peace; and deſiring his majeſty's protection in it; the king thought it a matter of that weight and conſequence, that he reſolved immediately to diſpatch away my lord Sunderland, to know fully the mind of France in this matter, and with orders not to ſtay above five days in Paris for his anſwer. His lordſhip was ready to be gone, and within ſix hours of parting from the town, when not only monſieur Barillon's expreſs, as well as his majeſty's, having returned with an abſolute anſwer from France, that they were reſolved not to evacuate the towns; a ſecond expreſs arrived from Mr. Mountague, not only to confirm the former anſwer, but to let his majeſty know, that the king of France had deſired Mr. Mountague, that no perſon might be ſent over upon that occaſion; ſince it was a thing in which he was reſolved, and which therefore would bear no reaſoning.

Upon this diſpatch, his majeſty immediately ſtopped that of my lord Sunderland, and reſolved to haſten mine, with new inſtructions to aſſure this State, how much his majeſty was ſurprized at this new incident from France; how entirely he approved their reſolution already taken upon it, and how firmly he was reſolved to ſtand by them in it. I was charged likewiſe with powers and orders to conclude immediately

ately upon meaſures between his majeſty and this State, in caſe of the war's going on, provided I could firſt agree with them in theſe three points: the firſt, of not making the peace without mutual conſent; or, at leaſt, without the conditions of January laſt: the ſecond, a joining with his majeſty in the prohibition of French commerce: and laſtly, a concert of forces. I could not diſobey his majeſty in this ſecond commiſſion, though I was infinitely diſcouraged by many circumſtances, and, moſt of all, by Mr. Hyde and Godolphin, who told me plainly, that matters were gone on too far here to be retrieved; at leaſt, that they were ſure it could never be done without his majeſty's firſt declaring the war; which he could not reſolve upon, till he was firſt ſure of the mind of Holland in that caſe: however, I came over, and what hath paſſed here will be better told your lordſhip by the Dutch ambaſſadors than by me, with whom I know you live in confidence, and will do ſo the more upon this occaſion: beſides, I had rather leave it to them, becauſe I both want time, and ſhould be forced often to ſpeak of myſelf in it, which I ever love to avoid. The upſhot of all hitherto is, that the States ſeem to reſolve an immediate anſwer ſhall be given to the French ambaſſadors laſt memorial at Nimeguen, and that a poſitive anſwer from France ſhall be deſired by the 5th of next month, upon the point of evacuating the places; that, in the mean time, the meaſures ſhall be concluded between his majeſty and this State, in caſe of France's perſiſting to refuſe it; and the very towns of Amſterdam, Leyden, and Rotterdam, as well as all the reſt of this province, ſeem abſolutely and unanimouſly reſolved, in caſe of ſuch a refuſal, to go on with the war in conjunction with his majeſty, as well as the reſt of the allies, and upon the ſtricteſt meaſures between them. This reſolution I thought would have paſſed this day; but the final reſolution is

referred

referred till to-morrow morning: however, I would not let this poſt go away without telling your lordſhip thus much, and adding, for your better light, that I find the prince infinitely ſatisfied with the States diſpoſitions and carriage in this whole tranſaction ſince I came over; and that I left the duke ſo violently bent upon a war with France, that he told the king publickly at the foreign committee, in my hearing, the day before I came away, after repeating ſeveral circumſtances of the French ill uſage and intention towards him, that nothing could be more evident than the French deſign of an univerſal monarchy; that nothing but England could hinder it; and that his majeſty, without engaging in it, would hazard his own crown and ſafety, as well as that of Chriſtendom. I am ever, your lordſhip's moſt faithful humble ſervant,

W. Temple.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

My Lord, Hague, July 25, N. S. 1678.

THOUGH the other letter be of a ſtaler date, yet, upon peruſal again, I found ſome things in it that might be proper enough for your lordſhip to know, and ſo I am content to let it go. I ſhall only here give your lordſhip joy of this negotiation atchieved under your miniſtry; which is by all on this ſide eſteemed a much greater than another, whereon I have known ſome former miniſters in England value themſelves very much, though not very long. That which may poſſibly make this the more acceptable to his majeſty, is the evidence of ſo much art and induſtry, with which the French have of late uſed all the practices imaginable to gain this State; upon the belief whereof I doubt, they have not conſidered us the more, or uſed us the better. For I do not find, that

the French ambaſſadors at Nimeguen took any notice of Sir Lionel Jenkins in the delivery of their late memorial there; or that he came to be poſſeſſed of it otherwiſe than from the Dutch ambaſſadors. And ſince I came over, monſieur d'Eſtrades has written ſeveral letters to the towns of Amſterdam, Rotterdam, Dort, and Leyden, to perſuade them that the prince of Orange and his friends will have no peace: and the penſioner has ſurprized an original letter from monſieur Louvois to monſieur d'Eſtrades, by which he bids him tell thoſe of his correſpondents in Holland, from whom the laſt advice came, that in caſe they gave him no better, he would certainly ſtop their penſions. The beſt on it is, the ſore ſeems to be broken, and to have run out ſo, as to leave the body more healthful than before; and if God bleſs the prince in this one enterprize of Mons, he will be greater here than ever any of his anceſtors were: I ſuppoſe, one good fruit more may ariſe from this affair; which is, that I do not believe any man who ſees the courſe of my diſpatches, can think there are any more tricks in the buſineſs; nor do I ſee why men ſhould be ſick any longer of that imaginary diſeaſe in England, after they are cured here. And if the cure ſhould be wrought at a time in both places, the world is ſafe, let the war go on; if not, it may be loſt ſtill: and I know not whether I ſhall have charity enough to pray God forgive them that prove the occaſion of it. How all this is received in court or country, I ſhould be glad to know from your lordſhip: for, after all the compliments made me here upon it, I am from thence to judge what I may have deſerved by the infinite, perpetual trouble and application it has forced me upon ſince I came over.

I ſend your lordſhip a copy incloſed of my diſpatch this day to Mr. Secretary, which Mr. Meredith reſolves firſt to put into your lordſhip's hands: and what-

whatever other obſervances you can receive from him, I am ſure will be rendered to your lordſhip there and here, upon this and all other occaſions: ſince he can have learned nothing elſe, in the houſe of a perſon that is, and ever ſhall be, with a conſtant and equal paſſion and truth, my lord, your, &c.

To the King.

Hague, July 25, N. S. 1678.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

HAVING, ſince my coming laſt over, not only drawn all things here to a head, but this day reduced them into form, and ſigned a treaty with the States, according to my inſtructions, upon their conſent to all the four points given me in charge; I preſume your majeſty will find it as much to your ſatisfaction, as all perſons here believe it to the honour and greatneſs of your crown; which is all I ſhall ſay upon a ſubject wherein I have had ſo much part myſelf. However, you will not, I hope, be diſpleaſed to know, that this affair ſo ended, has left the prince of Orange, in his own opinion, a happy man; and in all others here, a great prince once more: this State being more fallen in than ever with his highneſs, and both of them more than ever into a dependence upon your majeſty. I pray God, you may uſe ſo great a conjuncture ſo as may be moſt for your own glory and felicity, as well as thoſe of your crowns; and then I have my end and my reward.

Having charged Mr. Meredith, your majeſty's ſecretary of the embaſſy here, with the delivery of the treaty, and my diſpatch to Mr. Secretary Williamſon, I could not but give him this occaſion of laying himſelf at your majeſty's feet, and aſk your pardon for the long troubles I have been forced to give your majeſty, ſince my arrival here, as well as aſſure you at the ſame time, that no man alive can be with a ſincerer

cerer truth or greater devotion than I am, and ſhall be ever, Sir, your majeſty's moſt loyal and moſt obedient ſubject and ſervant.

To Mr. Hyde.

My Lord, Hague, July 29, N. S. 1678.

I HEARD by your ſervants here, that you were grown to be ſo ill at court, as to be gone down into the country to a ſcurvy piece of land you had bought there; and I, like a true courtier, upon this news would not take the pains to write to a man whoſe affairs went ſo ill: but for fear my intelligence ſhould prove as falſe as what monſieur d'Eſtrades had received of late from Amſterdam, and that you ſhould not only be well at court ſtill, but the land you went to ſee, ſhould prove to be one of the beſt manors of England, I could no longer omit aſſuring your excellency of my humble ſervices, and of the joy wherewith I ſhall either obey your commands here, or receive your protection at Nimeguen, as his majeſty's order ſhall either keep me in this place, or call us both thither; of which I have yet no certain proſpect.

Now I have made you my ſcurvy compliments, if you pleaſe, we will leave them all off; and in the common ſtyle of friends, I will firſt tell you, that I have had the good luck to end the buſineſs with which his majeſty charged me here, extremely to the prince of Orange's ſatisfaction, and as much to that of the States; excepting ſome few, who, by ſhewing their diſcontent at it, have diſcovered themſelves to be too plainly and too deep in the French intereſt, to be looked upon any longer as dealers here. Now I would be glad to know from you, as a friend, and not as a miniſter, what is ſaid or thought of it at court, and whether they continue in the mind I left them; or what points the wind may have tacked about ſince;

and

and what my lord Sunderland's buſineſs at preſent is into France; which is the great ſubject of talk and reflections here. I would be glad likewiſe to know your conjectures there, whether France will come to the peace or no, without refuſing any longer to evacuate the towns, which is the preſent wager current at Amſterdam; and my lord ambaſſador Jenkins, according to the lights of Nimeguen, was abſolutely of opinion yeſterday they would.

There never was ſo deſolate a place as the Hague at this time; and yet I was content the prince ſhould go becauſe I never ſaw any body go in ſo good humour, as both he and all about him, upon the concluſion made here the night before; by which his friends take him to make a greater figure than ever he did ſince he came to the government: but this will depend in ſome meaſure too upon the figure he will make in Flanders; where I have no very good opinion of the relief of Mons, upon the joining of mareſchal Humieres and Schomberg with the duke of Luxemburg: of all which you will ſooner receive an account by Flanders than from hence, where we have had, ſince Monday laſt, a perfect vacation of all affairs; ſo that you ſhall have no farther trouble beyond the aſſurances of my being ever, and truly, your, &c.

I gave Mr. Meredith order to wait upon you from me, and to give you any accounts you deſired of all that had paſſed here.

To Mr. Godolphin.

SIR, Hague, July 29, N. S. 1678.

I HAD not time to write to you by Mr. Meredith, which was due not only to you, but to the incloſure of a letter the prince had given me for you, upon the aſſurance that I intended to write to you by that

diſpatch.

diſpatch. All I could do then, was to order Mr. Meredith to wait upon you particularly from me, and both aſſure you of my ſervice, and give you an account you cared for being troubled with, of my late negotiation here. I knew you were ſo much a friend of the prince, as to be glad of what he was ſo much pleaſed, and all about him ſo exalted with here; 'becauſe they never took him to be in ſo great credit or authority, as upon the concluſion of this buſineſs; and thereby the dependence of this State being wholly caſt upon England, which was juſt upon the point of being thrown into France; and thereby leaving the prince in ſuch a figure, as I believe would have broke his heart, if it had proved without remedy. What you ſay or think of it on that ſide, I am yet to know, and whether you continue in the mind I left you, or how the weather has changed. And though you promiſed to have my ſtatue ſet up, if I could bring this State to take their meaſures with us before we had declared the war, eſpecially upon the point of prohibiting commerce; yet after that and all other points attained perfectly to his majeſty's mind, I will only expect that you keep me from being hanged up in effigy, if all ſhould be changed, and my lord Sunderland ſhould have more to do in France than I have here. That is the preſent ſubject of wiſe talk in this place: and, as both Mr. Hyde and you concluded with me at my coming away, that one great ground of the ill and haſty paces made here of late to a peace, was, the belief they were in of ours in England; ſo, I believe, you will conclude with me, that if we let this knot ſlip but once more, it is never to be retrieved again; and they will run into France without any ſtop, upon a diſdain of all our conduct in England, and the deſpair of our proving conſtant to their intereſt, or our own. In ſhort, the king is once more at the head of all the affairs in Chriſtendom; what uſe

he

he will make of it is in his own hands and thoſe of his miniſters and ſervants that are about him. Among whom, as I know no man that wiſhes better at heart to his majeſty and his kingdoms than you do; ſo, I am ſure, no man can wiſh better to you, in all points, than I do; nor more deſire the occaſions of expreſſing the ſincere truth and paſſion, as well as eſteem, wherewith I am and ſhall be always, Sir, your, &c.

To the Duke of Ormond.

My Lord, Hague, Auguſt 1, N. S. 1678.

SINCE my arrival here, I have had the hardeſt pinch of buſineſs that ever befel me in my life. I have concluded and ſigned a treaty between his majeſty and the States, by which he is obliged to enter into the war, and they to continue it, and not make peace without much greater conditions, if France does not agree to thoſe the States accepted (about a month ſince) by the 11th of this month. The prince would not ſtir till this treaty was ſigned, believing all his own intereſts, and the greateſt of the crown of England, to depend upon it. After it was done, he went away immediately to the army; a great prince in all others opinions, and a happy one in his own; which he had been far from in both for ſome months paſt. The French have uſed all the artifices imaginable to hinder theſe meaſures between us, and to take them ſeparately with this State, in our excluſion, and even that of the prince of Orange. Their laſt was two days ſince, by a memorial of their ambaſſadors at Nimeguen, offering, that the king of France would advance himſelf as far as St. Quintin, to meet any deputies the States would ſend thither, and treat with them in perſon. The States having yeſterday conſidered with me upon it, have refuſed the offer; deſired a poſitive

anſwer

anſwer upon evacuating the places in Flanders, and let the French ambaſſadors know, they ſhould not be many days *en leur entier* to receive it. This is a ſtrange change of ſtyle in the world, and the king is once more at the head of affairs in Chriſtendom. What uſe we ſhall make of this conjuncture, is in the ſtars: your grace and I will not venture to gueſs, conſidering how well we know our court; but I am ſure we ſhall join in our wiſhes; and mine ſhall ever be for the good health and good fortunes that your grace can propoſe to yourſelf; ſince no man can be with greater paſſion nor truth, than I am, and ſhall be ever, my lord, your grace's, &c.

To Mr. Secretary Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, Auguſt 1, N. S. 1678.

YESTERDAY, about noon, came an expreſs from Sir Lionel Jenkins, bringing me the incloſed memorial, inviting the States to ſend their deputies to St. Quintin, in Picardy; where his moſt Chriſtian majeſty will in perſon meet with them. I looked upon it as a reſolution in France grounded upon advices from hence, as believing that ſo great a condeſcenſion as this of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty could not but give new life to monſieur Pats and his party; that the effect of it would be, to draw this State into a negotiation, not only ſeparate from all their allies, but even from all offices or intervention of his majeſty, as mediator; and make way for ſome of the conſiderable perſons of this State to take particular meaſures with the court of France.

This morning monſieur Van Lewen was with me, and we diſcourſed of this new memorial. He ſaid, the thing ſeemed of the ſame piece with all that had come of late from France; and to be all but an amuſement, while he purſued the taking of Mons, and the

hopes that this State would ſtill fall into ſome expedient in the point of evacuating the places. That he was of opinion, the States would make ſome reflection upon this new offer; particularly the French ambaſſadors at Nimeguen having ſaid to the States, that, by this way of treating, affairs might be more advanced in twenty-four hours, than in as many days by other hands. He told me, that the States-General had reſolved that their commiſſioners for ſecret affairs ſhould come to me, and aſk my opinion upon this new propoſition; which he (monſieur Van Lewen) deſired to know before-hand.

I told him, I was ſure ſending to St. Quintin could do no good; ſince, if they were reſolved, as he ſaid they were, to inſiſt upon the evacuation of the towns without farther expedient, that might be better done at Nimeguen. That, beſides, it would be leſs reſpect to a great king, to draw him ſo far in perſon, only to receive a peremprory meſſage from them, without inſtructions to treat, or fall into temperaments upon it. That, thirdly, ſince before the treaty ſigned with his majeſty, they had reſolved not to ſend to Paris nor Ghent, I thought, ſince the treaty concluded, they could not ſend to St. Quintin, and thereby exclude his majeſty from any part in the negotiation, either as mediator, or otherwiſe, without his majeſty's conſent; which could not be had but by ſending into England, ſince I had no inſtructions upon this new incident. That this could not be performed within the time prefixed in the treaty of the 11th of this month: and, therefore, my opinion was, that they ſhould anſwer this memorial by another ſhort one from their ambaſſadors at Nimeguen, expreſſing, that they ſhould come to no new negotiations without the communication and conſent of his majeſty, with whom they had entered into meaſures upon the late incident in the negotiation of the peace. I told monſieur Van Lewen,

that

that this was *le grand & le beau chemin*; and that I did not ſee how they could take any other, conſidering their ties to his majeſty and Spain, who had joined them in accepting the peace.

Monſieur Van Lewen fell in with my opinion, but could not pretend to gueſs what the advice of the ſeveral towns would be upon it: after this he left me. I then began to reflect, what iſſue this affair would have had, in caſe the treaty had not been ſigned before it came; which it muſt not have been if I had firſt received your orders of the 10th current; by which I found his majeſty inſiſted upon the prohibition of commerce to be made a part of the treaty by particular article or convention; which, the prince, penſioner, and commiſſioners told me, could not be any ways hoped for from the province of Holland, ſo as upon it the treaty muſt of neceſſity have demurred; which imported as much as the whole iſſue of this negotiation, in caſe it had not been concluded before the prince left this place.

While I was in theſe laſt thoughts, and had purſued my letter as far as this laſt period, I received yours of the 11th, upon the late treaty's having been produced before his majeſty, at a foreign committee, with ſo many faults laid to my charge in this tranſaction, that I have reaſon to be as much mortified as you can wiſh me; though you are pleaſed to ſay, ſome of the faults you find are without preſent order.

The three chief points you have orders to except to, and to deſire a change, or elucidation upon them, I will anſwer as well as I can.

As to that of commerce; I was left, by the large period upon it in my inſtructions, to more liberty than I have taken; and the prince, penſioner, and commiſſioners all aſſured me, it was not to be gained by convention before-hand; but would certainly follow

upon this reſolution of the States, and laſt as long a the war: and the prince took upon him to hinder the failing of it from the emperor, or Spain; though that clauſe was put in to keep them up to the rigour of the ſaid prohibition.

For that of the concert of the forces, I told you the commiſſioners ſaid, it would be agreed to in very few days here; and I charged my ſecretary to let you know that they had agreed upon it, by proviſion, in that very number of land forces I had before mentioned: and I reſolved, upon the return of the penſioner here to town, to come to a ſpecification between us of them both at land and ſea; ſo that I could never have imagined this as an omiſſion; ſince I was tied to nothing in my inſtructions, farther than the proportions of three to two.

For that of the reſtriction to Europe, I muſt confeſs it a fault, ſince you ſay it is found ſo; but I told you then, it was a point I had no light given me in at all from you or any body elſe in England: that all the practices I had ever had there confirmed me in it, as well as the penſioner, who told me, this State had never made any treaty that extended beyond Europe.

Thus, I confeſs, I thought I had followed my inſtructions upon all theſe points, and did not act with ſo much punctilious caution as I ought, it may be, to have done; for the conjuncture was ſo critical, and to be concluded before the prince's going, or elſe to be loſt, which was to decide whether this State ſhould fall into a dependence upon England or France.

This is a point the French value, and purſue at another rate, of which there needs no other teſtimony than this *demarche* of St. Quintin.

But ſince the greateſt ſervice I could ever hope to do his majeſty, or the crown of England, proves to be a fault, I humbly aſk his majeſty's pardon; and ſhall

learn

learn hereafter to tie myſelf as ſtrictly to my orders, as a clerk of the office ought to do, ſince I find ſo ſevere a laſh hang over me: though I am, I confeſs, of opinion, that no prince, or State, can ever tie up ſo ſtrictly, either a general or an ambaſſador, or give them reaſon to act in perpetual fear, without loſing the greateſt occaſions in the world, either in treaties or in war. And ſo I end this unpleaſant ſubject, and am, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, Auguſt 2, N. S. 1678.

LAST night I acquainted the penſioner with what had paſſed between me and the commiſſioners, and the reſolution we were come to; which was, that it was not fit to ſend to St. Quintin, and they could not do it without the participation of England.

He ſaid, it was very well; and that this artifice of France, as it was the laſt, ſo it was the greateſt; and that we had but this blow to ward: that if our treaty had not been concluded, he ſhould have been in pain, but did not fear now; and ſaid, the States of Holland were to aſſemble upon it this morning.

This morning at five I received a letter from the prince, expreſſing the greateſt pain in the world upon this laſt memorial at Nimeguen; deſiring me to do all that was poſſible to hinder any deputation to St. Quintin or Ghent, and to ſpeak myſelf to all perſons here that I thought would be inclined to it. At five the penſioner came to me, and gave me an account of the reſolution being taken both in the States of Holland, and after in the States General, upon the French memorial: that they could not ſend to St. Quintin or Ghent, having nothing at all to propoſe; that they deſired the French anſwer, poſitive, upon the point of evacuating the places and ſigning the peace: that

they ſhould not be many days *en leur entier* to receive it: and this to be ſent to the French ambaſſadors at Nimeguen, with a private letter to the Dutch ambaſſadors, to let them know, that the 11th of this month was the laſt day they ſhould be able to attend their anſwer.

He told me, all this was agreed unanimouſly at laſt, though ſome inſiſted long upon writing a letter to the moſt chriſtian king; but not that itſelf, without firſt aſking my conſent to it; deferring as much as was poſſible to the meaſures they had taken with England.

He was in ſo good humour upon this occaſion, that I thought I could never have a better to put him upon giving his majeſty the ſatisfaction you deſire in thoſe points of the treaty; and ſo I preſſed him upon it in the way you order me.

Upon the firſt of commerce, his anſwer was, *Qu'il étoit impoſſible de le faire par convention, mais qu'il étoit auſſi impoſſible que cela pût manquer pendant la guerre, & qu'il m'en aſſûreroit, cette reſolution des Etats ne pouvoit être changée ſans une nouvelle; & il pouvoit toûjours empecher cette nouvelle reſolution.*

For the concert of forces, he ſaid, that by the 11th of this month, when we ſhould ſee whether it were war or peace, the States would enter with me into a ſpecification of forces for ſea and land; and that he thought forty ſhips would be the utmoſt that they ſhould furniſh at preſent: that according as occaſion ſhould happen, there would be other concerts hereafter.

For the third, for the *guarantée mutuelle* beyond Europe, he ſaid, that he would not ſay poſitively, that in the treaty, according as you alledged, there was not ſuch a clauſe, becauſe of the extremity they were in when Spain engaged with them; but confeſſed he had told me this State never engaged beyond Europe: that

that if it were ſo, he would uſe all the endeavours he could to have it done: but conſidering the ſtrength and populouſneſs of our plantations, and the weakneſs of the French, he could not believe but that we ſhould beat them wholly out of the Weſt Indies.

He then deſired me, with the greateſt earneſtneſs in the world, that I would repreſent to his majeſty the ſtopping, and thereby ſpoiling ſo great an affair, by any difficulties in ſuch points as theſe: that he would write to monſieur Van Beuninghen to that purpoſe, if it were not that I told him, how his majeſty kept the whole as a ſecret to all but him and the prince: that, for their part, their ratifications would be ready on Thurſday next.

His majeſty has the whole matter before him; and I deſire my inſtructions may be clear and poſitive; which I ſhall not fail of obeying, I am, &c.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

My Lord, Hague, Auguſt 2, N. S. 1678.

I WILL not trouble your lordſhip with any thing that goes in my diſpatch this poſt to Mr. Secretary Williamſon, becauſe I know you have your ſhare in it. I will only tell you, that after all the applauſes have been given me here upon the perfection of the laſt treaty, and among all the accounts given this laſt poſt from England, of his majeſty's and the general ſatisfaction upon it there, I received a letter from ſecretary Williamſon, that found twenty faults with it, and allows nothing in it that was good. I was the more ſurprized, becauſe your lordſhip had let me know the poſt before, that every thing ſtood upon the ſame foot it did when I left England; and I had obſerved, that our forces were ſince come over into Flanders; by which, and by the French demarches here and at Nimeguen, where they take no notice of his majeſty's

mediation in all that paſſes between them and the Dutch, I concluded all confidence irreparably broke between us and France; eſpecially the uſage of our troops there ſucceeding their inſtances about diſbanding them at home. All this conſidered, I could not imagine there could have been no good in a treaty that drew the dependence of this State wholly from France, and caſt it upon England, in ſuch a conjuncture, and about which his majeſty was ſo ſolicitous when I left him. I concluded this muſt be perſonal in ſecretary Williamſon; and I have written to him accordingly, and juſtified myſelf; as I am ſure, if there was a fault, it muſt have been in the lameneſs of his inſtructions, which no ambaſſador can act by, and upon which I call Mr. Hyde, Mr. Godolphin, and Sir Lionel Jenkins to witneſs; and your lordſhip too, upon this ſingle period in his laſt inſtructions the poſt before laſt, upon the time of our declaring the war, which I as much preſſed about here, and was fain to fence off as I could. His words are theſe, of July 16th. 'As 'to the time of his majeſty's declaring the war, that, 'you know, is to be taken upon the time of the ſign-'ing the treaty; and not at all to depend on the time 'ſet for the French's refuſal of this farther offer, 'otherwiſe than as that ſhall relate to the concluding 'of the propoſed treaty between his majeſty and Hol-'land.' My ſecretary and I were both very long buſy, not to find out the ſenſe, but his own meaning of it, and were fain to give it abſolutely over, which happened to me ſo often, that it is nothing new from that hand. Theſe laſhes and mortifications are as little ſo too, having very often befallen me from him; but never once from my lord Arlington, ſecretary Trevor, or ſecretary Coventry, in ten years ſervice under their correſpondence. I ſhould be very glad to know from your lordſhip, whether I am miſtaken or no, in believing this uſage perſonal from him; for, if it be from his

his majeſty, I ſhall take it for another ſign, and make another uſe of it. In the mean time, I beg your lordſhip to take care that my inſtructions may be clear hereafter, or, at leaſt, intelligible; for I am reſolved to do nothing without them, let what will happen. One thing more I beg your lordſhip to get altered by his majeſty's command, which is, that I may have conſtant advice, from one of the ſecretary's office, of all that paſſes in England; at leaſt, what can relate to affairs here. I believe no ambaſſador before ever failed of at leaſt a paper of occurrences every poſt; and, in all the time I have been here, I have not received one line; ſo that I knew neither of my lord Sunderland's going, my lord Feverſham's, nor the marquis Burgomaine's, otherwiſe than by the deputies or other miniſters here, much leſs of du Cros's overture in England, that the towns ſhould be reſtored by France, in caſe this State would give their guaranty that none of the allies ſhould aſſiſt the enemies of Sweden. I mention this becauſe, though it be as impracticable as other things of that kind that have come from France, yet it has made a great buz among half-witted people here, when it came to be conſidered upon this laſt memorial of the French, whether any expedient could be offered by France in the point of evacuating the towns.

The wiſe conclude all to be artifice, and never a greater, than this offer of the moſt chriſtian king, to come in perſon to St. Quintin, to meet and treat with the deputies of this State. They conſider the conſequence of ſuch a king's cajoling, or his miniſter's corrupting any that ſhould go; but chiefly of amuſing theſe people ſo far as to break the times, and thereby the meaſures concluded with us. They believe the bottom of all to be the amuſing either us, or Holland, till upon the approach of winter, and the German armies going into quarters, they may draw all their forces

forces out of Germany, and make one puſh for the conqueſt of Flanders. In the mean time, that which is ſown by them here with ſuch induſtry, is firſt, that nothing can defend this State and country from all its neighbours but France; nor, conſequently, give them perpetual peace and trade: then, that France can never have any deſign upon their liberty, becauſe they can make more uſe of their men and ſhips, while they are great and flouriſhing, than they can do by their growing weak and poor; which muſt follow the conquering and ſuppreſſing their liberties. Then, that they are no rival to them in trade, which England is, and muſt ever be; and that all the danger to their liberties is from his majeſty and the prince of Orange, upon concert between them, in relation to England and this country: and now, laſtly, upon this incident at Nimeguen, they ſay, it all aroſe only upon a viſit made by count Oxenſtern to the French ambaſſadors, when they were ready to ſign the peace, deſiring them, it might not be done without a proviſion for Sweden: and that no ſurprize could be greater than that of the king of France, when he heard the peace was delayed by that incident. In ſhort, they are extreme ſenſible of having made a horrible ill pace, and would fain recover it, but find it very difficult, and, I believe, will not be able, unleſs we help them; which, whether we ſhall or no, your lordſhip beſt knows.

I ſend you the laſt French memorial in print; for the ſame day they communicated it to the Dutch ambaſſadors, they diſperſed numerous printed copies among all theſe provinces. I ſend your lordſhip likewiſe a peculiar printed ſort of Gazette, which comes out every poſt, but only into few and particular hands; but this is the ſhrewdeſt pen, and the beſt informed that ever I met with. I am ever, with the ſame paſſion and truth, my lord, your, &c.

I am

I am very well content his majeſty may ſee this letter, and judge upon it, how I am like to ſerve him in the circumſtances I ſtand with the ſecretary's office.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR Hague, Auguſt 5, N. S. 1678.

THE penſioner having been with me, I have diſcourſed him upon the points which you ſaid his majeſty would have inſiſted upon; and he promiſes all the beſt offices to bring them about; but ſaid, that his majeſty would not be much concerned for the amendments in theſe points, if it were a peace; which, for his part, he did not at all doubt of; and therefore deſired me to endeavour that nothing might be ſtirred before the ratification, upon which he took the peace to depend. I aſked him, what made him think ſo? He replied, he would tell me in confidence, that monſieur Sylvercroon had been with him the day before, to let him know, that the Swediſh ambaſſadors had written to the French king, to deſire him not to hinder the peace of Chriſtendom any longer by inſiſting upon the reſtitution of Sweden before the evacuation of the towns: and that they expected an anſwer from France upon it within two or three days. That hereupon, he, the penſioner concluded, France was reſolved to make the peace, and evacuate the towns; for, he was very ſure, France and Sweden underſtood one another; that the laſt made no pace without the direction and conſent of the other. He ſaid, monſieur Sylvercroon had ſpoken to him of it as a thing done; and ſaid upon it, that he hoped now the peace was made, and that this State would not *acroche* it upon the neutrality of Cleves and Juliers. That he, the penſioner, had told him, that was a point the State had come to no reſolution in, but only to order their ambaſſadors at Nimeguen

meguen to uſe all the moſt preſſing offices they could with the French ambaſſadors upon it; but that there were four of the provinces reſolved not to have the peace without it; and, for his part, he would cry againſt it all he could. He deſired to know his majeſty's thoughts upon it, and that I would write and repreſent to his majeſty the importance of this matter; and that, in the mean time, the peace muſt take its courſe without it.

About nine o'clock this morning arrived Mr. Meredith with new inſtructions from his majeſty, grounded upon an intimation of monſieur du Cros, as is there expreſſed. Soon after monſieur du Cros himſelf came to me, and told me the whole ſtory of his propoſition. He enlarged upon his majeſty's great bounty to the crown of Sweden, by yielding to every one of the points which he had propoſed to his majeſty in his memorial; and concluded with the joy he ſhould have in ſeeing me ſo ſoon at Nimeguen, to ſecond the aſſurances he was to give the Swediſh ambaſſadors upon this occaſion.

I told him, that the intentions of his journey and mine had already been prevented by the Swediſh ambaſſadors having of themſelves made that pace towards the peace, which he pretended to bring them to by his majeſty's conceſſions. Upon this, monſieur du Cros looked extremely ſurprized; but recovering himſelf, ſaid, he did believe the letters he writ to the French ambaſſadors the poſt before he came away, might have had that effect, as to make them do the thing before he came: but it was *dans le veüe de quelque choſe qu'ils eſperoient d'Angleterre*: but, by comparing times, I found that could not be.

He ſeemed very unreſolved upon all theſe diſcourſes, whether he ſhould go to Nimeguen or not; and aſked me, what I intended to do? I anſwered, I ſhould not reſolve to ſtir, without firſt giving an account to court

court of the matter as it ſtood. So we parted, and he went about five this afternoon towards Nimeguen.

I cannot but take notice, that ſome of his majeſty's conceſſions in du Cros's memorial are of as great importance as can be to the crown of England: as the third and fourth, concerning the liberty not only of levying our mariners and ſoldiers, but of buying our ſhips and men of war.

What effect monſieur du Cros's diſcourſes may have here, I cannot tell, as to the peace; but as to his majeſty's meaſures and intentions to it, they have, I am ſure, had a very ill one. For my part, I neither underſtand the counſels upon which they were grounded, nor will pretend to judge of the event.

About ſeven in the afternoon, I ſpoke with the penſioner again, and communicated to him my new inſtructions. He ſaid, there would be no difficulty as to the neutrality of the enemies of Sweden, nor as to thoſe of the allies, who accepted not the peace with France. Then he ſaid, the State had ſent to Nimeguen their anſwer, by which they could not ſend to St. Quintin; and upon the communication of it to the French, monſieur Colbert had fallen into the greateſt *emportement* in the world, and particularly againſt monſieur Beverning.

Sir Lionel Jenkins writes me word, that the French take ſo little notice of his majeſty's mediation there, that he has not heard one ſyllable from them ſince they gave him their conditions of the 14th of April. I ſend Mr. Aglionby away with this diſpatch, conſidering the importance of it: beſides, that this gentleman having attended the whole motion of this affair ever ſince my coming over, will be able to give his majeſty a very particular account of all the ſteps that have been made in it, and of all that can be known from this ſcene. I am ever, &c.

From Penſioner Fagel.

Hague, Auguſt 6, 1678.

SIR,

HAVING well conſidered the orders which your excellence communicated to me by direction of the king your maſter, and knowing that this State will never put the iſſue of the peace upon the foot of the neutrality of Cleves; and that you have no orders in this point from the king your maſter: that this State will not carry on the war with vigour, without the exceeding unreaſonableneſs of France in refuſing to evacuate the places, be made appear, as it will when Sweden has conſented to it: that the king your maſter alſo will not concur in carrying it on but on this condition, as appears plainly by this ſtep, and by the difficulties which your court have made to ratify the treaty, without ſuch alterations as can never be conſented to here: that du Cros is well acquainted with your inſtructions: and that Sylvercroon has already publiſhed what they are here, as the other is going to do at Nimeguen; and that, perhaps, with ſome circumſtances worſe than they really contain: that Sweden ſeeming

De par le Penſionnaire Fagel.

A la Haye, le 6 Aouſt, 1678.

Monſieur,

AYant conſideré les ordres que vôtre excellence m'a communiquée de la part du roy vôtre maître & voyant que cet Etat n'acrochera pas la paix ſur la neutralité de Cleves, & que vous n'avez pas aucun ordre là deſſus de la part du roy vôtre maître; que cet Etat ne ſoûtiendra pas la guerre avec vigueur, ſans que la France ſoit miſe dans ſon dernier tort par les refus d'evacuer les places, ce qu'arrivera quand la Suede y aura conſenti: que la roy vôtre maître ne le fera pas auſſi ſans cela, comme il paroît par cette demarche, & par les difficultez que vôtre cour a fait de ratifier le traité, ſans des changemens qu'on ne peut pas faire icy: que du Cros a ſcû vôtre depéche, & que Sylvercroon l'a deja debité ici comme l'autre va faire à Nimegue, & avec de circonſtances pût être plus mauvaiſes qu'il ne contient: que la Suede ſemblant

deja

ing willing already to bate ſomething of their pretenſions, and France therefore appearing deſirous to make the peace; it is for the ſervice of this State to owe the doing of it rather to England, which will ſerve to continue and ſtrengthen our mutual obligations after the peace; which is a matter of the laſt conſequence to the intereſts of his majeſty, of this State, and of the prince. For all theſe reaſons, I think it abſolutely neceſſary for the general good of Chriſtendom, and for the common intereſt of each nation, that your excellence ſhould without delay repair to Nimeguen, according to the orders you have received. I am your excellency's moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant,

Caſp. Fagel.

deja ſe deporter de leurs pretenſions, & par là, la France paroiſſant de vouloir faire la paix, il ſera bon que cet Etât aye encore cette obligation à l'Angleterre, ce qui ſervira à continuer les liaiſons entre nous apres la paix, qui eſt une choſe de la derniere importance pour les interêts de ſa majeſté, cet Etat, & le prince. Je croy pour toutes ces raiſons, qu'il eſt abſolument neceſſaire, tant pour le bien commun de la Chrêtienté, que pour leurs interêts, que vôtre excellence parte au plûtôt pour Nimegue, enſuite des ordres qu'elle a receu. Je ſuis, de V. E. le très humble & très obeïſſant ſerviteur,

Gaſp. Fagel.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Nimeguen, Auguſt 9, N. S. 1678.

IN humble obedience to his majeſty's expreſs commands, I, Sir William Temple, came hither at ſeven a clock laſt night: immediately upon my arrival, monſieur de Balba ſent to know, whether he might make me a viſit, which I conſented to, and he came accordingly.

His diſcourſe conſiſted of his hopes that I brought a good peace along with me; his deſires to hear whether the treaty at the Hague were ratified or no; and his complaints that the French, notwithſtanding the

Swedes

Swedes having deſiſted, yet ſtill refuſed to ſign the peace. That, for his part, he could not be ſorry for it; for though he ſhould have ſigned it, if they had conſented, yet, after having ſigned a peace ſo deſtructive to Chriſtendom, he ſhould have retired himſelf from all public buſineſs for the reſt of his life.

Upon the enquiring the occaſion of my coming, I told him, as I have done every body elſe, that having been aſſured at the Hague, that the Swedes here having deſiſted from the pretenſions of being reſtored before the evacuation of the places; and the French having always profeſſed that difficulty to have been raiſed wholly upon their occaſion; I made no queſtion but the peace would be immediately ſigned; and thereupon came hither upon his majeſty's orders, that I ſhould be preſent at the concluſion of it.

Upon the marquis's going out, my colleague Sir Lionel Jenkins came in to me; and being ſurprized at the unexpectedneſs of my arrival, and I aſking him whether he knew nothing of it? he ſaid, nothing, but from the talk of a confident man lately arrived here, who had given out he had brought the peace in his pocket, and orders for Sir William Temple to come with him at Nimeguen.

Hereupon I ſhewed my colleague my inſtructions, which you laſt ſent me, grounded upon monſieur du Cros's propoſition: he told me the thing was done before I came: that the Swedes had not only deſiſted from their pretenſions; but that the French had owned it in their memorial on Sunday laſt, and declared, that upon it their maſter deſiſted from detaining the towns: but, however, that he, my colleague, did not find the peace was much the nearer, ſince the French ambaſſadors did ſtill refuſe to ſign it, and perſiſted that the Dutch ſhould ſend to treat and conclude it, either with the king their maſter in perſon, or with the deputies at Ghent: whereupon, conſulting with my colleague,

league, we concluded together, that we ſhould not ſay any thing to the Swediſh ambaſſadors of what your laſt inſtructions imported, unleſs they ſpoke to me of it, and ſeemed to expect it from me; in regard that whatever his majeſty intended ſhould be done by the Swedes, towards the evacuation of the towns, had been already fully done by them: and that no declaration of his majeſty's inſtructions to me was meant, or could tend to this new difficulty raiſed by France, about the Dutch deputing to the moſt chriſtian king, or to his deputies at Ghent.

The next viſit I received was at nine this morning from the Daniſh ambaſſador, whoſe diſcourſe was chiefly upon the occaſion of my journey hither; upon the ground it may give to the Dutch, of receiving otherwiſe this propoſal from France, than they might poſſibly have done if I had been at the Hague; upon the liberty monſieur du Cros had taken here, of *proning* the inſtructions he brought from his majeſty, and the credit he had at our court; which he, the ambaſſador, thought very ſtrange, conſidering what he paſſed for at theirs, where he was ſufficiently known. And thereupon he gave me a character of the man, which I will not trouble you with.

After the Dane's leaving me, the Swediſh ambaſſadors came in: their diſcourſe conſiſted in valuing the generous pace they had made, of deſiſting from their pretenſions, ſince thoſe alone ſeemed ſo much to retard the peace.

They ſaid, that though they reckoned upon the good offices of Holland after the peace, as well as upon the aſſiſtances of France towards their reſtitution, yet their chief confidence was in the good intentions of his majeſty towards their crown; of which they had received ſo good teſtimonies upon all occaſions.

Hereupon they began to diſcourſe of the laſt French memorial; and made their particular reflections upon

two paſſages in it. The firſt, that France ſeemed to intend that they, the Swedes, ſhould owe their reſtitution to the meaſures that France ſhould take with Holland upon that occaſion; whereas their chief hopes were from his majeſty; and they had very little from Holland, beſides their common offices, after the peace was made. The next was from the laſt words of the memorial; by which it appears, that France intended to treat and conclude the peace with the deputies of the States in a place where there was like to be no miniſter from Sweden; which, they ſay, they did not very well underſtand; nor thought they had reaſon to be ſatisfied with what the French ambaſſadors told them upon it, that the king their maſter's intention was, the peace ſhould be ſigned at Nimeguen, though it were concluded at St. Quintin.

All that I anſwered to theſe diſcourſes was my compliments upon the declaration they had made, of deſiſting from their pretenſions, rather than hindering the peace of Chriſtendom; and the aſſurances that I had orders to give them, of his majeſty's good intentions towards their crown. And here our diſcourſe was like to end; when I reſolved to make ſome mention of monſieur du Cros, to find out what they would ſay upon it; and what the true ground had been of his journey and mine hither.

I told them, that I was in hopes to have found the peace ready to be ſigned here when I came: for, beſides the aſſurances the penſioner had given me and monſieur Sylvercroon, at the Hague, of their excellencies having deſiſted from their pretenſions, which had difficulted the peace, I heard that monſieur du Cros had ſaid upon the way hither, that he carried the peace in his pocket, and that he brought expreſs orders to them, the Swedes ambaſſadors, which they had not before.

Monſieur

Monſieur Oxenſtern ſaid very gravely to this, *Aſſeurément nous n'avons pas agi par des ordres qui nous ont été portes par Mr. du Cros:* but monſieur *Olivecrans*, ſmiling, ſaid, *Monſieur, pour ce qui eſt de la vanité, il faut pardonner à monſieur du Cros, puiſque vous ſavez qu'il eſt garçon.* I told them hereupon, that monſieur du Cros had told both me and monſieur du Sylvercroon, that the declaration made by the Swediſh ambaſſadors here had been grounded upon the aſſurances that his majeſty had given particularly to monſieur du Cros, in England. Monſieur Olivecrans replied a little warmly, *Monſieur, vous me pardonneras, cela a éte fondé ſur les aſſûrances que le roy m'a donnés devant que de partir de Londres.*

By theſe lights, I ſuppoſe, you will be able to unriddle better than I can do here, what hath been the true bottom of all this intrigue.

After the Swedes left me, the Dutch ambaſſadors came in; and preſently after them, as we had concerted together, came Sir Lionel Jenkins. They fell preſently into diſcourſe of the laſt French memorial; in which, they ſaid, they could find little more than in the former, but that it was a tranſpoſition of words. For, whereas they had ſaid before they would not evacuate the towns without reſtitution to Sweden, they now ſay they will evacuate the towns; but they will firſt treat and agree with the Dutch about the ſatisfaction of Sweden.

They ſaid, the firſt period was clear, and that upon it they offered to ſign the peace: but the French refuſed, ſaying, that though their memorial conſiſted of three periods, yet they were to be taken *pour une choſe toute d'une ſuite.*

The next remark they made was upon the words *toutes les places*, in the firſt period; which word *toutes*, they found, upon ſearch, never to have been in any of their memorials or letters before. And they obſerved

the meaning of it might be, that though they desisted from the design of retaining all the places, yet they did not from that of retaining some of them: and the words, if you please to observe them, seem to bear it.

Monsieur Beverning said farther, that when he offered to sign the peace, and said that they should not be many days longer at liberty, *à cause de leurs engagemens*: the French replied, *Vous vous fiez à vos engagemens, messieurs; & le roy a deux cent mille hommes qu'il a bien payé.* They told them farther, that his majesty hath such treaties with France, that would keep him from performing *ce que monsieur Temple a stipulé à la Haye.* Whereto monsieur Colbert added, *Et pourquoy monsieur Temple ne vient-il pas? il a les ordres du roy son maître de revenir icy, aussi ne fait-il à la Haye que du mal.*

After, they concluded that the design of France was to draw this business into a particular negotiation between them and the States, without either the Swede of the one side, or their allies of the other; and without England too; and by that means to hinder them from the assistance either of their allies or of us. That by these memorials about deputations to France, and by their artifices in scattering copies of them as soon as they were delivered, they hoped to prevent the measures between us and Holland; and to draw out time while they pursued the siege of Mons, and while England should grow weary of keeping up their forces; which they knew a parliament would not be willing to pay for a peace, though they would for a war. Mr. Haran added, *il n'y a personne si aveugle qui ne voit tous ces artifices.* They both wished very much that I Sir William Temple were now at the Hague, because they doubted what effect this memorial of France might have upon them there when they should see, in the first period of it, a declaration of the French to evacuate the towns, but not consider that which follows.

The

The firſt viſit I Sir William Temple received this afternoon was from count Kinſki; whoſe chief diſcourſe was in extolling the force of England, which had appeared ſo much in his majeſty's late arming ſo powerfully in ſo ſhort a time; ſaying, that if the king pleaſed he was arbiter of the world, and might be ſo of this peace here, if he thought fit.

That for their part (meaning the Imperial ambaſſadors) in it, all that he would ſay, was, that they were ſent thither *pour traiter, & non pas pour recevoir des loix*; but that the French underſtood it otherwiſe; and that nothing had paſſed between them, ſince the French publiſhed the conditions upon which they would make the peace in the beginning of April laſt: ſince which time they had often offered to treat upon them, but the French excuſed themſelves; and, for their parts, they were reſolved not to receive thoſe conditions without treating upon them.

Next to count Kinſki came to me the Brandenburgh ambaſſadors, whoſe diſcourſes were either compliment, or politic upon the affairs of Holland; how near the prince was being abſolutely loſt there about three months ago; and how much he was recovered ſince this laſt incident from France, about the evacuating of the towns.

The next hours of five, ſix, and ſeven this afternoon were given to the three French ambaſſadors, who had been the laſt to demand it of me; having been yeſterday out of town at my arrival. All paſſed with a great compliment and kindneſs; beſides which, monſieur d'Eſtrades endeavoured to ſhew, that all the ſincerity in the world had been of his maſter's ſide, but that all had been artificial on the part of the States; but eſpecially on monſieur Beverning's, who, he ſaid, was *trop habile homme*, and always found ſome ſpecious thing or other to hinder the peace; by which the

French found that the States abſolutely had no mind to it, how much ſoever his maſter deſires it.

Monſieur Colbert's whole diſcourſe was, how the incident touching the towns proceeded wholly from monſieur Oxenſtern; how the moſt chriſtian king could not, in honour, refuſe it to an ally; though he (monſieur Colbert) thought it much againſt his maſter's intereſt, and more againſt that of Sweden: that his maſter had deſiſted immediately upon the Swedes deſiſting by their declaration, which was made to them here, July 26th, N. S.

This made me reflect upon what monſieur du Cros would have ſold ſo dear to his majeſty, after that the Swediſh ambaſſadors had given the point here, and, as monſieur Olivecrans ſaid, upon the aſſurances his majeſty had given him before he came laſt from London; but, as others interpret it here, from the fears that, in caſe the war went on this ſummer, the Dutch would lend their fleet to the allies to beat the Swedes clearly out of Pomerania.

I remember nothing in monſieur d'Avaux's viſit, beſide the ordinary things that paſſed in thoſe of his colleagues.

About eight o'clock the Dutch ambaſſadors came to us both a ſecond time, and ſaid, they had orders from their maſters to communicate to us the anſwer they had newly received from them to the French memorial of Sunday laſt; which was, in ſhort, that they were ready to ſign the peace, and ſhould be ſo till to-morrow was paſt: after which they ſhould be at liberty no longer, in regard of their engagements with his majeſty: but that if they (the French ambaſſadors) would ſign the peace, their maſters the States, after it was ſigned (to ſhew their reſpects to the moſt chriſtian king) would ſend their ambaſſadors not only to St. Quintin, but to Paris.

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The time being thus ſhort, and expiring to-morrow at twelve at night, they told us, they ſhould go ſtraight from us to acquaint the French ambaſſadors by word of mouth with this anſwer of the States; intending to give it to them to-morrow more extenſively in writing. We are always, Sir, your moſt faithful humble ſervants,

W. TEMPLE.
L. JENKINS.

To Mr. Secretary Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, Auguſt 16, N. S. 1678.

ON Saturday laſt, in the evening, I received yours of the 30th paſt, at Nimeguen, with his majeſty's orders to exchange the ratifications of the late treaty here; upon which, you are pleaſed to ſay, his majeſty put ſo much weight. I found upon computation, that yeſterday, being Monday, was the laſt day allowed for the exchange of the ſaid ratifications; and reſolved to part by three o'clock next morning, that I might not fail of arriving here in time; which I did about ſeven o'clock yeſterday morning, after having been all night upon the way. I immediately ſpoke with the penſioner, and acquainted him with my orders to exchange the ratifications, and of what you command me to let him know here of his majeſty's intention upon it; which was, that I ſhould ſtill endeavour to procure an amendment of thoſe points in the treaty, againſt which his majeſty has made exception; though he had not thought fit to delay the ratification upon it, both for the infinite conſequence of the buſineſs, and his great zeal to ſupport the intereſts in queſtion; upon which grounds he had choſen rather to rely upon the States for obtaining thoſe points after the ratification, than to delay it upon them.

The penſioner ſeemed extremely pleaſed that the ratifications are come, and that I had orders to exchange

them; which he desired might be done in form at ten o'clock. As to the points still insisted on, he said, he would not fail of acquainting the States with them at such times, and in such manner, as he thought would conduce most to the success of them, and thereby to his majesty's satisfaction; though he conceived, since a peace was like to follow, his majesty would find no necessity of insisting upon them for the present; and his majesty's ratification would have much more force and credit here, if it came barely to the States without those circumstances, after the fears they had been in of his majesty's not ratifying the treaty.

After this he fell immediately to speak of the peace that had been lately signed at Nimeguen; and with great trouble in his face, and, I believe, at heart, when I said, *Il faut avoüer qu'elle est belle, principalement ayant été signée sans l'Espagne*; he replied, it was true; but that this last would never have been done without monsieur du Cros's journey, and his *debiting* both here and at Nimeguen, that his majesty was resolved not to come to a rupture with France; but had taken his measures absolutely with them upon the peace; and that orders were sent over to my lord Sunderland to that purpose. I told him, I discovered by my going to Nimeguen, that all the business of monsieur du Cros had been only an intrigue of his own; and, I believe, a surprize upon his majesty: that I had thereupon never said one word to the Swedish ambassadors there of his majesty's warranting the neutrality of Spain, or any thing else contained in the dispatches received from England with monsieur du Cros; but had made that advantage of my journey, as in great measure to take away the ill impressions which had been given them of his majesty's conduct by du Cros's discourses, and the French ambassadors upon them. He seemed to be extreme glad of both these points, and said, he would

would immediately give the prince notice of them; that monſieur du Cros's journey was a thing done, and ſo without remedy; and therefore they muſt make the beſt of what was paſt, and provide as well as they could againſt what was coming upon them, in which they ſhould have infinite need of his majeſty's reſolution and conſtancy, *pour ſupporter la foibleſſe de quelques gens de cet état, qui ne tendoient qu'à la ruine du païs auſſi bien que du prince.* That for his part, he ſaw very well the artifices of France in all that had paſſed at Nimeguen. That they knew the Dutch ambaſſadors had orders to ſign the peace, in caſe the evacuation of the places were yielded before the 11th of this month, according to our late treaty; but that they could not ſign after that day was expired. That they were reſolved to prevent the force of this conjunction between his majeſty and this State by ſigning the peace that night, upon yielding to evacuate the places; but that they had not diſcovered this intention till ten o'clock that morning, in a conference which laſted till three in the afternoon; after which they knew there would neither be time for the Spaniſh ambaſſadors to adjuſt their treaty that night, nor for the Dutch to ſend for orders to the States, whether to ſign without the Spaniards, or no: that the Dutch ambaſſadors had *extremement precipité l'affaire*; and that he knew very well the French were perſuaded by ſome of their correſpondents here, that the States having once ſigned, though Spain ſhould not agree, would yet be concluded by it. And that the French ambaſſadors had thereupon raiſed new points in their treaty with Spain, which had never been mentioned in the French propoſitions at Nimeguen. That they would indeed have a very fine game to play, if in only giving up Maeſtricht to the Dutch, they might retain the other places in Flanders; and have the liberty thereby of invading Cleves and Juliers, while this State

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ſhould have their hands tied up; but that they would be deceived in all this meaſure. That the States would never ratify the treaty, unleſs that of Spain were firſt concluded; and the places in Flanders, as well as Maeſtricht, ſhould thereupon be actually evacuated. That, till Spain had ſigned, they would neither ſend their deputies to France (though they might poſſibly name them) nor ſo much as conſent to the ceaſing of hoſtility. That, God be thanked, there was an expreſſion in the late treaty, by which his majeſty and the States were engaged one to another; not only in caſe France ſhould refuſe to promiſe the evacuation of the places, but alſo in caſe they ſhould delay to do it, either upon the account of the ſatisfaction of Sweden, or any other cauſe; or in caſe, after they had agreed to it, they ſhould *detrectare*. That the ratifications being once exchanged, he did not doubt his majeſty would be firm to them in all theſe points, as they ſhould be both to him and to themſelves.

After this he told me, he ſhould ſee me again when the commiſſioners came to exchange the ratifications; which they accordingly did between ten and eleven, and the exchange was made in form between us. Monſieur Van Lewen took occaſion to ſay upon it, That as nothing but our ſigning the treaty could have made the French yield to the point of evacuating the places, ſo nothing but our ratification could keep them up to it. That they had diſcovered their artifices more than ever, by the long *chicane* they had made with the Dutch ambaſſadors about retaining Maeſtricht, Charleroy, or Ghent, even the very day they ſigned the treaty; by which they ſhewed plainly, that nothing had brought them to it, but the fear of a firm conjunction between England and Holland; and that he ſtill feared what might be the conſequence of the treaty ſigned without the Spaniards.

I told the commiſſioners, his majeſty had ever reckoned upon Spain's concluding at the ſame time with them; and upon evacuation of the Spaniſh places, as the very fundamental point of the States agreeing to the French conditions. That I found before I came from Nimeguen, that the difficulties were like to be great between France and Spain; and that the Dutch ambaſſadors thereupon had a mind to put that buſineſs upon us, the king's ambaſſadors there; but that we had excuſed ourſelves from it, and told that we had always looked upon it as a part of the States agreement with France, and with which they ought to charge themſelves, as the moſt eſſential part of their own treaty. I aſked the commiſſioners, whether they were not of this mind? The penſioner ſaid, they were; and that the Dutch ambaſſadors ſhould be charged with it, as a point without which the peace could not be ratified. Monſieur Van Lewen ſeconded them, and ſaid, it was the foundation of all the reſt; and that, he did believe, there was not one man in the States would conſent to the ratifications without it.

I remember nothing elſe that paſſed upon this occaſion; and ſhall upon the whole, in ſhort, give you my own opinion of the preſent diſpoſitions here in this great conjuncture. There is a party here, that would certainly drive this State into ſuch meaſures with France as might bring the provinces not only into a dependence, but even under the ſubjection of France; and this party conſiſts chiefly of rich men, of the old Loveſtein faction, in five or ſix of the great trading towns of this province. They are induced to it by the hatred and fear of the houſe of Orange; and by the belief, that if they live under the protection of France, the liberty and trade of the country ſhall be ſtill preſerved; and the hands of the government only changed from the prinoe of Orange's friends to thoſe

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of this party. The French have had all along, but eſpecially for theſe ſeven or eight months paſt, a cloſe intelligence with the beſt heads of this party, and by them infuſed it into many well-meaning men, that nothing but the protection of France can preſerve theſe countries in conſtant peace, and thereby in trade and riches; that France can never have any deſign upon their liberties, becauſe it would be againſt their own intereſt, in regard they could make better uſe of this State by their continuing to be great and rich, than if they ſhould be weak and poor, which would follow the ſuppreſſion of their liberties; with many other plauſable things of this nature, reflecting upon the great danger here to be from the prince of Orange in conjunction with England.

On the other ſide, five of the provinces here, and about eleven or twelve of eighteen of the towns in this province, are generally in the opinions and intereſts of the prince of Orange; and whenever his majeſty falleth in heartily to back them by his alliances, and any artificial dealing in the French negotiations come to be diſcovered, they grow to be ſo much maſters of all reſolutions here, that all the well-meaning men, even in the great trading towns, fall in with them, and thoſe which are abſolutely in the French intereſt dare not ſo much as ſpeak in their aſſemblies. But whenever it happens that any paces of his majeſty give them a ſuſpicion of his uncertainty in the meaſures with them, the other party then immediately gets ground; and the generality in the great towns begin to conclude, that they had better accept any terms of peace from France, than rely upon a ſupport from England, which they cannot be ſure of.

All ſeem at preſent abſolutely reſolved not to ratify the peace with France, unleſs Spain be likewiſe concluded by it, and the towns evacuated; but yet, what this itſelf may come to, I cannot tell, in caſe his

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majeſty ſhould give them occaſion of doubting his reſolutions to ſupport them in it; which is all I ſhall trouble you with upon this ſubject, or any other, at this time, beſides the aſſurances of my being always, Sir, your, &c.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

My Lord, Hague, Auguſt 16, N. S. 1678.

ON Saturday laſt in the evening I received at Nimeguen, by expreſs, your lordſhip's in the new ſecretary's hand, with one from ſecretary Williamſon, giving me order to exchange the ratifications with this State, which were ſent over laſt poſt; and upon the exchange whereof, Mr. Secretary tells me, his majeſty put ſo much weight. If it were ſo, ſure he muſt have forgot that I was ordered the poſt before to go away to Nimeguen; and that it is twenty-ſix leagues between this place and that; ſo that if by contrary winds, or any other accident, the expreſs had been a day longer coming to me; or if after receiving it, I had not travelled all night as well as day, I could not have been here time enough to have ratified it, the term fixed for it by the treaty expiring yeſterday, and that, perhaps, the ſtate of Chriſtendom may in great meaſure depend upon this ratification; for, though the peace between France and this State be ſigned, yet it muſt be the force of this ratification that muſt prevail with France to ſign the treaty with Spain too, and thereupon to evacuate really the towns; and it muſt be the ſame force that muſt keep this State from ratifying their peace with France, unleſs Spain be likewiſe included, and the towns really evacuated.

For my own part, I was never ſo amazed as to receive this ratification of the treaty, and orders to exchange it. For upon monſieur du Cros's journey, and all he ſaid at the Hague and Nimeguen upon it, as

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if it were on purpose to spread it both here and there; I did believe the king had taken his absolute measures with France; that he was resolved not to ratify the treaty here, and sent me away to Nimeguen only to have me gone from hence, for the reasons monsieur Colbert gave for my orders to go, *à cause que je ne faisois que du mal icy*. Besides, monsieur du Cros told them and others here, that all the measures concerning the peace were agreed by his majesty, your lordship, monsieur Barillon, and him; that you were to enter into alliance presently with France and Sweden; that orders were gone to my lord Sunderland to that purpose, and that his lordship would make them public by the next post. How all this was to agree with my treaty here, and powers to negotiate with the confederates, made, I confess, my head turn round, and seemed to hang together like ropes of sand. In the mean time, I had found out by the Swedish ambassadors at Nimeguen, that the whole business of du Cros was a mystery to them; that they knew nothing in the world of it till he came to Nimeguen; only the post before he had writ them word he was coming: that they had given the French ambassadors their declaration of desisting from their pretensions, the 26th of last month, N. S. and that the very hour monsieur du Cros arrived, and was with them, the French ambassadors came in, to let them, the Swedes, know they had orders to desist likewise from their pretensions of detaining the towns.

Both the Swedish ambassadors told me, that when they delivered this message to du Cros, who was all the while in the house, he was *si étonné qu'il étoit prêt de tomber de son haut*; and yet that he had the impudence to write to his master the duke of Holstein, that he had made the peace. This they told me both together; and next day monsieur Olivecrans, alone, told me, du Cros had so much address as to get them both

both to ſign a letter to his majeſty, of his own drawing up, which ſeemed to give him (du Cros) ſome ſhare in the buſineſs; and that he (monſieur Olivecrans) was extremely aſhamed of it, becauſe the contrary would appear by the date of their declaration to France; but that this whole intrigue of du Cros was an arrant comedy. For my own part, I wiſh it were ſo; but the effects are more than ridiculous, and, I doubt, have ſhaken his majeſty's credit more than was to be wiſhed at this time. And, for my part, I have, upon what the Swedes told me, very plainly ſaid to the Dutch ambaſſadors and others, that it was a downright *fourberie* of du Cros; and that I had no other buſineſs at Nimeguen, but to obſerve the motions of the peace at the critical term. In ſhort, it is ſigned; and I have writ to Mr. Secretary, with what diſpoſitions on the French, and what on this ſide: and what all may come to upon it I know not, but am ſure it will extremely depend upon his majeſty. But what the diſpoſitions will be there, I can never pretend more to tell, ſince you could not ſo much as keep your countenance three weeks together; and have now ratified a treaty, which Mr. Secretary found fault with every line of; and ſince you could ſuffer ſuch a man as du Cros, of whom the penſioner ſaid, at my but naming him, *c'eſt un fourbe des fourbes*, to give ſo unhappy a *branle* to the affairs of the world. But after all, I muſt beg your lordſhip to let me know, when you did reſolve to ſend him and thoſe inſtructions, why not to Sir Lionel Jenkins that was upon the place; but to me that was engaged here in an affair of another nature? Well, I can ſay no more, but that it has ſo broke my head, that I think it will not be right again; and I muſt beg of your lordſhip, that you will pleaſe to let his majeſty know that I grow old and infirm, and am not fit for theſe ſudden commands: that if he thinks

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I can be of uſe to him till the end of this conjuncture; I am content to ſtay that period; but for returning to Nimeguen, I ſhall not be able to do it; nor do I think there can be need of more than one; if there be, Mr. Hyde is in commiſſion: but let who will be there, inſtructed as I find Sir Lionel Jenkins is, there had as good be none at all. Whatever becomes of my health, or heart, or honour, your lordſhip will ever be aſſured of my being, my lord, your, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

My Lord,

SINCE the writing of this, I have received Mr. Secretary Williamſon's of the 2d inſtant, and a long one from Mr. Aglionby, of the ſame date, with an account of all his majeſty's, the duke's, and your lordſhip's diſcourſes to him upon the preſent conjuncture; by which I find you will have reaſon to think of the man, and his late intrigue, as I have done ever ſince I ſpoke with the Swediſh ambaſſadors; but what you will think after he has been with you, I know not, conſidering his addreſs; one part whereof has been, to make the Leyden French Gazette publiſh yeſterday, that, upon monſieur du Cros's arrival at Nimeguen, the peace was immediately ſigned; ſo that it muſt have been done upon ſomething he brought with him from England. I cannot but add one thing the penſioner told me ſince my return, which was, that among many other things Du Cros had ſpread, both here and at Nimeguen, of which you have account enough already, he told the Swediſh ambaſſadors as well as the French, that the king was abſolutely for a peace, and would not come into the war; but that the duke was wholly for the war, and with intention by it to bring the prince to be ſovereign of this coun-

try;

try; being wholly in that intereſt ſince the marriage of his highneſs.

Upon the whole, you will be beſt able to judge there, from what ſprings this whole thing has moved, finding how early Sweden has made their declaration of deſiſting, which was the 16th of July, O. S. how France had reſolved to ſign the peace with the Dutch upon the evacuation of the places, if they could not prevail for the deputation of St. Quintin; and how all this has paſſed, it ſeems, without any communication with his majeſty: for in the letters of the 2d inſtant, you knew nothing of any ſuch reſolution in France, for aught I ſee; and the French ambaſſadors received their orders to ſign upon Monday the 29th of July, O. S. though they kept them private till Wedneſday, which was the laſt day the Dutch were at liberty; and thereby put them upon doing it ſo precipitately, that they might neither be able to take Spain along with them, nor to conſult with the States, whether to ſign or no.

This is enough upon ſo unpleaſant a ſubject. Now, for my going to Nimeguen, after I had reſolved to ſtay, when I received my inſtructions; I will tell your lordſhip juſt upon what point that reſolution turned. The day after I diſpatched my ſecretary with my firſt reſolution, Mr. Meredith told me, the king had been extreme earneſt upon my going to Nimeguen, without any more circumſtance than bare communication to the States. Monſieur Sylvercroon came and told me, the Swedes had not abſolutely deſiſted from their pretenſions, though they had declared they would; and the penſioner writ me this letter all in his own hand, whereof I ſend you the copy; by which he made my going abſolutely neceſſary for his majeſty's intereſt and that of the prince, as well as other conſiderations; ſince du Cros had made the ſubject of it ſo public, that ſeveral of the States of Holland had told the penſioner

of it the day after du Cros had paſſed by this place. All that I can ſay farther to your lordſhip is, that if the king be really upon no better terms with France, than he ſeems to be by all the laſt diſpatches, and that they play their game here whenever they can, and with us only when they cannot compaſs their ends here; and if his majeſty will, on the other ſide, endeavour to hinder that game, and keep the dependence of this State upon the crown of England, he muſt, I doubt, come to theſe two reſolutions: firſt, to aſſure the prince of Orange that he will take no farther meaſures, either upon the peace or war, till he has firſt concerted them with him; and next, to come to a reſolution to join abſolutely with this State in any meaſures they ſhall think neceſſary for their ſafety, upon the neutrality of Cleves and Juliers; without which, the prince and penſioner think the State loſt: but they know not whether they will come up to it themſelves, till they find whether they ſhall be backed by his majeſty; but in that caſe, they are confident, the States will be poſitive, either before the peace or after.

I humbly beg your lordſhip's pardon for this long and haſty ſcribble which I am aſhamed of; and yet, now it is done, it will be neceſſary to ſhew it his majeſty, being all the lights I can give from hence, beſides what I have given to Mr. Secretary; and all the account I can give of my own conduct. I am, &c.

Your lordſhip will underſtand by my diſpatch to Mr. Secretary, that I having ſaid not a word to the Swedes at Nimeguen, but only general profeſſions of his majeſty's kindneſs to that crown, the king is at liberty wholly on that ſide, unleſs monſieur du Cros had power to bind him.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR, Hague, Auguſt 19, N. S. 1678.

BY Sir Lionel Jenkins's expreſs, I gave you yeſterday the trouble of one of mine, with a copy of the treaty ſigned the 10th, between the French and Dutch ambaſſadors at Nimeguen. I am apt to believe, that what was ſigned at firſt was rather a *brouillon* than any fair and formal draught; both the French and monſieur Van Beverning having run the affair out of all forms, to prevent the fatal minute, as they thought it, of twelve o'clock that night; after which the Dutch had declared they could not ſign: and Monſieur Beverning ſuffers, as I find, in every body's opinion here; having, as they aſſure me, never had any orders to ſign, but only to paſs an act upon the French conſenting to evacuate the places, that the States would thereupon ſign the peace ſo ſoon as the treaty with Spain ſhould be agreed. Let the ſpring have been where it will, the precipitation of the affair appears in many points that reflect much upon monſieur Beverning's conduct, who confeſſes they had not time to read it over. For, beſides a contradiction in two articles, which gave one ſix months, and another nine months time for the ſame thing, there were three eſſential faults. The firſt, not drawing ſo much as an act from the French ambaſſadors for the evacuation of the Spaniſh towns; though the Spaniſh ambaſſadors had given them one, before the ſigning, whereby they conſented to the terms offered them by the French propoſition. The next was (which I hear in private) that whereas it was agreed upon between them, that the differences between the States and Sweden ſhould be endeavoured to be adjuſted in three months time, and that, in the mean while, there ſhould be a neutrality: when the

article was drawn up, the term of three months was omitted, ſo that the article runs in general. The third concerns his majeſty more particularly, and his defenſive alliance with this State: for in the 13th article of the treaty of peace, where the States promiſe a neutrality, and not directly, nor indirectly, to aſſiſt the enemies of France, it runs generally, which deſtroys the force of any defenſive league they have made. But when I ſpoke to the penſioner, and monſieur Van Lewen about it, they both told me, that the States had immediately taken notice of it, as ſoon as the tranſcript of the articles came to them; and had them ſent to monſieur Beverning to reproach him upon it, with order to have it immediately redreſſed; without which they ordered him to declare to the French ambaſſadors, that it ſhould not be ratified; and it is to be mended by the addition of theſe words, after *les ennemis de France, & des alliés, durant le cours de cette guerre, & à l'egard de ceux qui y ſont maintenant engagés.* They interpret the dreſſing of this article in French to have been induſtrious on their part, as well as negligent on the Dutch ſide.

To-morrow monſieur Beverning will make his report to the States, how this whole Buſineſs has paſſed; and particularly, of the ſtate wherein I left the differences between the French and the Spaniards. Accordingly, though I have no letters from you this poſt, yet having ſeen one from monſieur Van Beuninghen, which confirms me in the opinion I was, that his majeſty would deſire the Spaniards might come to ſign too, without which the towns in Flanders would not be evacuated; I have ſpoken at large with monſieur de Lyra upon this point, whom I take to be the ſpring of the Spaniards motions in all theſe parts.

I find his reſolutions are, to try if he can make the States diſown their ambaſſadors; but in caſe he cannot

not obtain that, and be preſſed to diſpatch the treaty now on foot, he will give into it even with the point of neutrality; laying this for his maxim, to hold this State up to the beſt terms he can for his maſter, but, however, not to break with them; and to purſue the cloſeſt meaſures he can with them after the peace, and, by their means, endeavour the ſame with his majeſty; upon the belief that all three are equally concerned in preſervation of whatever is left in Flanders.

While I was in this diſpatch, the penſioner and monſieur Van Lewen came to me from the States, to let me know, that having received letters from monſieur Van Beuninghen, by which they found that monſieur du Cros had informed his majeſty, that the States had made paces in this treaty diſagreeing with the meaſures taken between his majeſty and them, and of private concert between them and France, particularly that they deſiſted from preſſing the neutrality of Cleves and Juliers, and had granted the French a paſſage at Viſet, for invading thoſe countries; the States had ordered them both to write to monſieur Van Beuninghen, and to deſire me to aſſure his majeſty, that it was all a falſe information. And whereas they found endeavours had been uſed thereupon to poſſeſs his majeſty, that the peace being made, there would be no farther uſe of his forces in Flanders; they deſired not only the continuation of thoſe that were there, but likewiſe that he would be pleaſed to ſend over more; ſince the peace was yet upon very tickliſh terms.

They ſaid hereupon, that they every day diſcovered ſome new artifice in the dealings of France; for now they propoſed two months to be the term of the ratification between them and the Spaniards, though Spain deſired but a month; which was done out of deſign to retard the evacuation of the places, till his majeſty and

the States ſhould retire their Forces out of Flanders: but that they were confident the States would not ratify their treaty till Spain ſhould ratify theirs, and the evacuation of the places immediately follow.

The penſioner ſtaying ſome time with me alone, told me, both the States of Holland and States General had approved the prince's late action near Mons, and ſent him thanks for it, as well as for his conduct the next day, in acquainting monſieur de Luxemburgh with the peace, and agreeing to a ceſſation of arms for two days.

I took notice of the 30th article of the treaty of commerce, about the liberty of building ſhips, as one that had been introduced in the time of their beſt intelligence, upon the treaty of 1662; and which I thought too much for a bare treaty of peace and amity. But, he ſaid, this article was in their treaties of commerce with Sweden and Denmark, as well as France: that France had made one trial of it, by building four or five ſhips here; but had been ſo ſerved in it, that they never returned any more, and, he did believe, never would, or, if they did, ſhould fare no better.

That they, the States, were ready to come to any new treaty of the ſtricteſt alliance that his majeſty ſhould think fit after the peace; ſince nothing but a firm conjunction between them could ſtop the career of France. He ſaid, that their ambaſſadors had ſtrict orders to inſiſt upon the neutrality of Cleves and Juliers, even after the peace; but it having been omitted in the firſt haſty acceptation of the peace, ſome towns would not be brought to *acroche* it abſolutely upon that. What they might do, when it came nearer to them, he could not tell; but was apt to believe that the Spaniards once agreeing, it might run to a general peace, and that the affairs of the North itſelf would not hinder it. I am, your, &c.

To

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

SIR, Hague, Auguſt 23, N. S. 1678.

ON Saturday laſt monſieur Beverning made his report to the States, and in particular of the difficulties remaining between the French and Spaniards; which conſiſted chiefly in the French demands of the county of Beaumont, of Bovines, of ſecurity for the ceſſion of Dinant, and of an article of neutrality from the Spaniards. The report was received ſo coldly, and followed with ſuch imputations of ill conduct, upon thoſe points which I mentioned in my laſt, eſpecially the omiſſion in the 13th article, and not procuring an act from the French ambaſſadors for the evacuation of the places, that monſieur Beverning, when he came out of the aſſembly, ſwore to his friends, that he would give up his commiſſion, and that nothing ſhould engage him to return to Nimeguen any more; laying the fault of all omiſſions upon his precipitation; and that, upon the advices and orders from hence, which he had followed to the beſt of his underſtanding. He went immediately to his houſe in the country, where he continues ever ſince; though ſome of the States have engaged ſeveral of his beſt friends to go down and endeavour to reclaim him.

Yeſterday, about noon, the prince arrived at Hounſlardyke, after having agreed with the duke of Luxemburgh about a ceſſation of hoſtility till the ratification of the treaty, and about withdrawing the forces on each ſide; and thereby left Mons open. I attended his highneſs in the afternoon, and found him much unſatisfied about the ſigning of the peace without Spain; which, he ſaid abſolutely, the ambaſſadors had no farther orders for, than only to threaten the Spaniards, that in caſe they would not conſent to the article of neutrality, they would ſign without them. But,

that it was done, and ſince his majeſty was ſo well pleaſed with it, as it ſeemed by monſieur Van Beuninghen's letter, they muſt make their beſt of it, and drive it on to a peace, in caſe France would be ſincere in it with the Spaniards: but that he much doubted it, unleſs the ſame reſolutions and paces of his majeſty, which had engaged him to promiſe the evacuation of the places, ſhould bring it to a concluſion. He was very melancholy upon what condition this peace would leave all the affairs of the allies in, and the juſt reproaches this State was to expect from them; which he was to bear his ſhare in, how little ſoever he had deſerved it. He ſaid a great deal of monſieur du Cros's journey, and what effects it had here; but that he had not yet ſpoken with the States, and could not tell what it was they would be at: but that he would ſee me to-day, after he had been in the aſſembly. I found him unſatisfied with monſieur Beverning, but yet of my opinion, that he muſt return to Nimeguen, and end this buſineſs of Spain, without which it could not be a peace.

The ſame day I ſpoke with monſieur Van Lewen, who told me, the French ambaſſadors had conſented to the redreſſing the tenth article in the manner I writ in my laſt, and that the States *auroient crevé plûtôt que de faire la paix ſans cela*; that no State could have greater obligation that this had to his majeſty; and that every body in it was ſenſible, that they owed the peace wholly to him, in caſe they had it, which would yet depend upon that between France and Spain; and this upon his majeſty's reſolutions to ſupport them in ſtanding firmly upon it, as the point upon which their own treaty was grounded.

This afternoon the prince came to me, and told me, he found a general diſpoſition in the States, not to ratify the peace till Spain ſhould be ready to do it at the ſame time. But yet, he deſired very much, that his majeſty

majeſty would give me orders to preſs them upon this point, if there ſhould be occaſion; and that nothing new ſhould be impoſed upon the Spaniards beyond the conditions given in by the French at Nimeguen. He deſired likewiſe, that his majeſty would give order to his ambaſſador at Nimeguen, to propoſe, as from his majeſty, a general ſuſpenſion of arms for ſix months, in order to the treating of a general peace; and deſired me that I would not fail to repreſent both theſe points to his majeſty from his highneſs by this poſt. He ſaith, by advices from Nimeguen he finds the French ambaſſadors there ſeem well enough diſpoſed to it, upon the nuncio's having already propoſed it; but that nothing will give it ſo much force as coming from his majeſty, and therefore is very earneſt in it.

Mr. Meredith ſends you the treaty printed, as likewiſe that for ceſſation of hoſtilities; ſo that I ſhall not increaſe your preſent trouble beyond the aſſurance of my being always, Sir, your, &c.

P. S. The prince has engaged monſieur Beverning to come to town to-morrow; ſo as the States of Holland will then fall into conſultation upon the points in difference between France and Spain.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

My Lord, Hague, Auguſt 26, N. S. 1678.

I HAD the honour of one from your lordſhip of the the 12th, by my ſecretary, who came over with Mr. Hyde. I will not enter into the reaſons of this warm and ſudden motion in England, nor can I into the effects of it abroad. A little time will tell us the laſt; and for the firſt, it is my part rather to look towards the events than enquire into the cauſes of it. All I ſhall ſay, is, that it has extremely ſurprized every body here, and none more than the prince, unleſs it be myſelf.

myſelf. For your lordſhip knows, when I came away, his majeſty's reſolution was, to have the peace, if he could, upon the evacuation of the places; and in the courſe of this whole matter, to follow and ſupport Holland in the paces they ſhould make, and not to lead them: and you may remember, I told his majeſty at the foreign committee, that, I knew very well, the diſpoſitions of Holland towards the peace were ſuch, that if he ſhould have had a deſign to engage them farther in the war, his endeavours towards it muſt be like thoſe of rowers, that look one way and go another. I ſhould have been glad his majeſty would have begun upon this occaſion what, your lordſhip tells me, he has reſolved, of concerting firſt with the prince any meaſures he ſhould take, eſpecially in what relates to theſe countries, where he can certainly give his majeſty the beſt lights, and ſuch as it is not poſſible for his majeſty to have in taking ſudden reſolutions upon affairs that are in motion, and have ſuch ſudden turns. As in this itſelf his majeſty could not know, that the prince had himſelf concluded a ceſſation of hoſtility with France till the ratification of the treaty; and yet that very circumſtance made a great change in the event like to attend Mr. Hyde's commiſſion. The particular of his inſtruction; to ſay, his majeſty would recal his forces out of Flanders, in caſe the States fell not into his opinion of the late treaty's having place, was, I ſuppoſe, intended to draw them into his majeſty's preſent mind, and thereby to ſave Flanders, as well as Holland, from falling into the hand or dependence of France: but the prince and penſioner ſeverally, at the very firſt mention of it, concluded, it would have a quite contrary effect, and muſt certainly occaſion the loſs both of this country and Flanders, as you will find by Mr. Hyde's diſpatch, which is ſo exact, that I can add nothing to it towards his majeſty's information; only, I will tell your lord-

ſhip

ſhip what the prince ſaid to me laſt night upon it; which was, that he was very glad to ſee his majeſty in this mind; and that he knew very well what effects it would have had, if they had been aſſured of it here three weeks ago; but what it would have now, he could not tell: for they were all ſo ſurprized, eſpecially after monſieur Van Beuninghen's letter, which ſaid ſo much of his majeſty's being pleaſed with the peace, that no body had ſaid a word upon it: that for his part, if he had been firſt conſulted in it, he ſhould have been for his majeſty's ſending to the States, not to ratify the treaty without Spain's ratifying theirs at the ſame time, and being thereby aſſured of the evacuation to follow immediately: that if his majeſty had only preſſed this, and aſſured the States at the ſame time of his reſolution to ſupport them, by a vigorous execution of their treaty, in caſe of any refuſal or difficulty from France, he was confident the thing would have been done, and thereby either Spain been included, or the States gone on with the war: but that he did not know what effect this, now come from his majeſty, would produce in the great towns of Holland, where they were ſo apt to be jealous of his highneſs's deſign to continue the war; that we ſhould ſee in a few days, that he chiefly apprehended the town of Amſterdam upon it.

What your lordſhip ſays, of your forbearing to ſay thoſe things I deſired you to tell his majeſty about myſelf, is too obliging in you, not to be acknowledged; but yet, I muſt beg your lordſhip to believe, that none can judge ſo well of a man as himſelf; who feels what is within, whilſt others only ſee what is without; and finds the decays of age or indiſpoſition in his body and mind, while he may diſguiſe them to other people. Whenever I thought myſelf able to do his majeſty ſervice, though I never ſought it, yet I never refuſed it: but whenever I ſhall find

myſelf

myſelf incapable of doing it any longer, and let his majeſty know it, I hope he will believe it: and, in the mean time, I beg your lordſhip not to think any thing I ſay of that kind is humour, but a true judgment I make of myſelf by what I feel, and what I told both his majeſty and your lordſhip before I came over, would happen to me by any long ſtay in theſe countries, which have ever been ſo contrary to my health.

I cannot tell your lordſhip how ſenſible a part I bear in the indiſpoſition of the family, as well as your own, but comfort myſelf with the hopes Mr. Aglionby gives me, of their being well over; and will not engage your lordſhip at preſent in any farther trouble, than the aſſurance of my being ever, with equal paſſion and truth, my lord, your, &c.

To the Duke of Ormond.

My Lord, Hague, Auguſt 30, N. S. 1678.

I COULD not receive a greater honour or ſatisfaction, than by your grace's letter of the 12th paſt; which I ſhould ſooner have acknowledged, but that ſince my laſt, I have been engaged in ſuch ſudden and unexpected motions, as well as the buſineſs here in ſuch turns, as have left me neither time nor patience, nor concernment enough ſometimes, to think of many things I ought to have done: among which, I reckoned all duties I owed to your grace, and this in that number.

I ſhall, as ſuccinctly as I can, purſue the thread of thoſe two accounts I gave your grace at my leaving England, and ſince my arrival here to this time; after which, I do not expect to meet with any thing worth your grace's trouble or my own, having my head turned wholly another way, and cured of thoſe impertinent

pertinent ſolicitudes, which have ſo often buſied it about public affairs, and to ſo little purpoſe.

After my laſt to your grace, and to the 4th of this month and this ſtyle, I took myſelf to have maſtered the buſineſs his majeſty had ſent me upon here. The treaty was ſigned, and by it the day fixed, being the 11th inſtant, for France to yield the evacuation of the places, or his majeſty to come into the war with the States. France had failed of all their endeavours to break theſe meaſures: the States had reſolved not to ſend their deputies to treat with the French king in perſon at St. Quintin, and not to ſign their treaty, even upon the evacuation being yielded, unleſs in conjunction with Spain. The time of deciſion drew near, and the moſt chriſtian king ſeemed ſo far engaged by his peremptory anſwers to his majeſty, as well as by his ambaſſadors declarations at Nimeguen, not to evacuate the places till the ſatisfaction of Sweden, that every body was at a gaze, which would prove of moſt weight, this point of honour, or that of intereſt, not to ſee England engaged in ſuch a confederacy againſt France; and, in the mean time, whether it ſhould prove a peace or a war. The meaſures were ſo cloſed between us and Holland, that nothing, in appearance, was like to ſhake them. For though upon my ſigning the treaty, Mr. Secretary Williamſon had found great faults with many particulars of it, and ſent me orders to get them amended, or elſe the king could not ratify; yet they being ſuch points as had been impoſſible to be obtained here, and wherein I was left at liberty by my inſtructions; this difficulty had only been communicated to the prince and the penſioner here, who had confidence of ſatisfying his majeſty in thoſe particulars without making them public; which they thought would have ill effects upon the States at ſo critical a time in the meaſures between us.

Upon

Upon the 4th current, Mr. Meredith, the king's ſecretary of the ambaſſy, who had gone over with the treaty, arrived here, and in his company one monſieur du Cros, ſtyled at London Envoy of the duke of Holſtein. Mr. Meredith brought me an inſtruction to let the States know, that the king had reſolved to give a guaranty upon the peace, to the neutrality which Spain ſhould enter upon towards the enemies of Sweden; and that I had command to go immediately to Nimeguen, to acquaint the Swediſh ambaſſadors there with this reſolution of his majeſty, and endeavour thereby to induce them to quit their pretenſion of being reſtored before the evacuation of the towns, and ſo France might be at liberty to make that pace towards the peace. My inſtructions told me likewiſe, that this was done upon inſinuations made his majeſty by du Cros, who was ſent at the ſame time to the Swediſh ambaſſadors upon this occaſion.

Du Cros came to me, and told me, the king had taken this meaſure with monſieur Barillon, and ſent an expreſs over with it into France: that he was reſolved upon the peace, and, to that purpoſe, had haſtened me away to Nimeguen, whither he (du Cros) hoped to attend me. I told him he knew his own times and motions; and that I ſhould govern myſelf in mine by my orders and his majeſty's intentions, as far as I underſtood them. And ſo we parted.

I was in the greateſt trouble in the world, whether to obey my inſtructions, or firſt acquaint the king with the conſequence of them here. I ſtaid three days after du Cros, before I went to Nimeguen; but at laſt was reſolved in the point, by finding that du Cros had made all public here; was gone to do the ſame at Nimeguen, and had perſuaded the Swediſh commiſſary to come and tell me, that their ambaſſadors had not abſolutely deſiſted, but only declared that they would do ſo; and expected my coming to determine them.

Upon

Upon all which, the penſioner as well as I, were both of opinion, that it was neceſſary for me to acquaint the States with what his majeſty had ordered me, and to go away to Nimeguen; and not give the States of Holland occaſion to believe, that I endeavoured to hinder his majeſty's paces towards the peace, in favour of what they here ſuſpect, of the prince's inclination to carry on the war.

On the 6th inſtant, I acquainted the States with his majeſty's reſolution, and my journey; and on the 7th, I ſet out to Nimeguen, where I arrived the 8th; and immediately found, that on the 6th, the French ambaſſadors had declared my memorial to the Dutch, that they deſiſted from their pretenſion to detain the towns till the ſatisfaction of Sweden, in purſuit of a declaration the Swediſh ambaſſadors had made to them about ten days before. But the French ſtill inſiſted upon the Dutch ſending to St. Quintin, to adjuſt other points of the peace. On the 9th, the Dutch ambaſſadors gave their anſwer to the French, that the State could not ſend to St. Quintin till the peace was ſigned; but that they were ready to ſign upon the evacuation of the places, and ſhould be ſo all the next day; but after that ended, they could make no farther pace without his majeſty, whoſe meaſures taken with them by treaty would take place on the 11th of this month.

On the 11th in the morning, the French ambaſſadors came to the Dutch, and in a conference of five hours, wherein they preſſed very much to keep ſome of the towns, but found the Dutch obſtinate in all, they yielded at laſt, and agreed to ſign the treaty, and both came to us, the mediators, to deſire us to ſign with them. We aſked, whether Spain ſigned at the ſame time, and were included? And finding they did not, we refuſed to ſign with them, or at all to intervene in the treaty without new orders; ſince ours directed

rected us to all paces neceſſary for a general peace, but not to any for a particular one. We expoſtulated with the Dutch for going about to ſign without Spain, contrary to what had always been his majeſty's and the States intention; but monſieur Beverning ſaid, he muſt ſign that night, though he loſt his head; and ſo they did, between eleven and twelve o'clock; the inſtrument having being hardly finiſhed by that hour, when our laſt treaty with Holland for carrying on the war would have begun to take place.

Next day they fell into the buſineſs between France and Spain, wherein they met with ſo many difficulties by new demands of the French, that they confeſſed, they found plainly the French deſign in this precipitation; which was, that the Spaniards might not have leiſure to adjuſt their treaty, ſo as to ſign at the ſame time, nor the Dutch ambaſſadors have leiſure to ſend a courier to the States for particular orders, whether to ſign or no without Spain; and thereby to divide the States from Spain, aud concluding their peace ſeparately with the firſt, be obliged only to reſtore Maeſtricht, but keep the places in Flanders ſtill in their hands.

Upon this monſieur Beverning told us, that they had made a pace that had ruined both the States and all their neighbours; and when he ſaid the ſame to his allies, laid the fault upon his majeſty, who had (as he ſaid from Van Beuninghen's letter out of England) firſt refuſed to ratify the late treaty without conditions that were not poſſible for this State to admit; and by du Cros's journey, had ſatisfied the States what meaſures the king had taken with France for the peace, and how little was expected from England as to any rupture with that crown. Of all which we gave account to court.

On the 13th at night I received by expreſs the notice of the ratification of his majeſty's treaty with this

State

State being arrived at the Hague, and commands to exchange them without thoſe difficulties that had before been made by ſecretary Williamſon. The laſt day allowed for this exchange was the 15th; ſo that if the expreſs had, by winds or other accident, been kept four-and-twenty hours longer upon the way, or I had not gone all night as well as all day, I could not have come time enough from Nimeguen to the Hague to make the exchange; and the whole treaty, upon which his majeſty began to put ſo much weight, had been out of doors.

The ratifications being exchanged in time and form, the Penſioner, with the greateſt chagrin in the world, complained of du Cros's journey, as that which had ruined the whole affair, by giving ſuch impreſſions here and at Nimeguen as had precipitated the ſigning of the peace without Spain; and told me, the prince had never been ſo troubled at any thing in his life; and that he doubted it would engage him in ſome deſperate action. The ſame night, being the 15th, I received letters from England, telling me, they had diſcovered the artifice of du Cros in that whole buſineſs, and how miſchievous it might prove; and that they hoped I had not purſued my inſtructions, as I had certainly not done if they had been ſent privately to me, and the whole buſineſs not been communicated to him: but the thing was done, and all I could ſay of it, was, that having found at my arrival at Nimeguen, the Swedes had actually made the pace towards which his majeſty ſeemed wholly to aim by my inſtruction, I had never ſaid any thing of it to the Swediſh ambaſſadors, and thereby left du Cros wholly diſcredited with them and the French, and all others there: and told them, that I found plainly, his whole buſineſs was a *fourberie*; which ſent him home railing at me, that I would not obey my orders, and that I was reſolved

to engage the king in a war, when his majesty was resolved not to enter into any with France.

On the 16th, at night, we received news of the prince's bold action near Mons: for the honour whereof, I will only tell your grace, that the French ambassadors at Nimeguen had assured me, that their army was so posted, that if they had but ten thousand men, and the prince fifty thousand, he would find it impossible to attack them.

The success of it you will have heard from many hands; and found, that after the prince, no man had a greater share in the danger and honour of it than my lord Offory, who charged upon the most desperate pass, and left a great many men and officers behind him. For the prince, all agree, there was not a common soldier in the army so much exposed, leading up every squadron himself in the wing he charged; and being, the whole time of the engagement, in the vety hottest of the fire.

The day after the battle, the prince received the States letters, giving him an account of the peace being signed; upon which he sent to the duke of Luxemburg, to know if he would upon it raise the siege of Mons; for which he took two days time to send for orders, and then consented to do it; and so the affair ended, and the armies retired to their quarters. If some miscarriages had not happened in this action from some of the confederates, the French army had certainly been broken that day. And if the news of the peace being made publick, with some other circumstances, had not prevented it the next, the business would have come to a great decision between the armies; and with much appearance of advantage to the Dutch, upon the conjunction with a body of fresh English foot, which would have had great influence upon all sides. But it was otherwise decreed.

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On the 19th letters came from England, but none to me from court; upon the belief I might be at Nimeguen, as Mr. Secretary pretended. But the letters from monſieur Van Beuninghen to the States ſaid, though the king and court had, at firſt report of the peace being ſigned, ſeemed a great deal ſurprized; yet he had next day talked with them, and found them very well pleaſed with it, and with the conduct of the States: and a private letter to the foreign miniſters here ſaid, it went ſo far, that they were upon the point of diſowning me and Sir Lionel Jenkins, for refuſing to ſign the peace as mediators.

On the 22d the prince arrived here, and having been in the States the 23d, where he was received with great applauſe, he came to me that evening; and after complaints of their ambaſſadors having ſigned the peace without Spain, and the ill conſequences it was like to have upon the affairs of Chriſtendom, he ſaid, however, ſince his majeſty was pleaſed with it, there was nothing to be done but to endeavour to include Spain in it, and afterwards to drive it on to a general peace; without which, France having all their forces at liberty on this ſide, would in very little time be maſters of the Rhine, and all the great cities upon it, from Straſburgh to Cologn, if not to Weſel; and after that would ſoon be maſters of theſe countries and Flanders: and therefore he deſired his majeſty would propoſe a general ſuſpenſion of arms, by his ambaſſadors at Nimeguen: which I writ the ſame night to court, upon the prince's deſire, and with the terms of it.

The next day, being the 24th, Mr. Hyde arrived, after having made his paſſage in twenty-four hours from London; and brought poſitive inſtructions with him to let the States know how much the king had been ſurprized with their ambaſſadors ſigning the treaty without Spain; and with the difficulties that ſtill re-

remained upon the Spaniſh treaty, and the evacuation of the places. That his Majeſty was thereupon of opinion, that the States could not ratify that treaty, by what they were engaged to by the laſt treaty I had made here, to go on with the war: and that if they were of the ſame mind, and would ſignify it to him, he would, within three days after ſuch ſignification, declare war againſt France; and in all points purſue the laſt treaty he had made with the States.

We acquainted the prince that night with this commiſſion; and the firſt word he ſaid upon it was, that he knew very well what effect this would have had if it had come three weeks before, and inſtead of monſieur du Cros; but what effect it would have now, he could not tell, farther than it would ſurprize every body. What he ſaid to me in private was, that we were too cold and too hot; and that he wondered we had not obſerved what they were always calling out to the ſteerſmen at ſea, *ſteddy*, *ſteddy*. That all we could hope to make out of this, was but to keep up the States in the reſolution they were in already, of not ratifying the treaty without Spain. But it had another effect, at the firſt noiſe, upon the towns here, and ſo far increaſed the jealouſy of ſome concert between the king and prince of Orange for carrying on the war, though France ſhould perform the conditions this State had accepted, that the very next day after Mr. Hyde's propoſition, thoſe of Holland paſſed a reſolution to ſend an ambaſſador immediately into France; though under pretence of knowing that king's mind upon the differences remaining with Spain: and the next day thoſe of Amſterdam propoſed to ratify the treaty with France, even without the incluſion of Spain. But the prince's great temper and conduct hindered both one and t'other: the firſt, by the voices of five other provinces againſt that of Holland; and the other, by the reſt of the towns in Holland againſt that of Amſterdam;

ſterdam; and brought it to a reſolution, both in the States of Holland and States General, not to ratify the peace without Spain; and to order their ambaſſadors at Nimeguen to go as far as poſſibly they can, in accommodating the points ſtill in difference, which are ſmall and few, and upon which I ſee no likelihood that either Spain or this State will continue the war. So that if France will have a peace, and not raiſe new difficulties beyond their own propoſitions, I look upon it as unavoidable: and there has not been one time theſe four years paſt, when we might not have entered into the war with advantage, beſides this alone, when we have made an offer at it; and thereby, I ſuppoſe, broke our meaſures with France, though we have not taken them with the confederates.

By laſt poſt the king ſent orders to Sir Lionel Jenkins, at Nimeguen, to propoſe a general ſuſpenſion of arms for ſix months; in concurrence, as Mr. Secretary Williamſon writes, with the prince's deſire. But the prince aſks, how this agrees now with Mr. Hyde's propoſition? and obſerves, that when he deſired it, it was before he knew any thing of this laſt reſolution of his majeſty's; and on the contrary, thought him pleaſed with the peace. In ſhort, whoever ſhould take the pains to lay together the paces we have made for theſe three months paſt in this great affair, would conclude, our ſecretaries of State never remembered one day what had been done the day before; or never cared what would be done the next. I am ſo far from ſpeaking this with deſign, that I am, for my own part, reſolved to lay at his majeſty's feet the promiſe he made me a year ago of that employment, as well as the embaſſy I am charged with; and ſhould certainly have done it already, but the prince has engaged me to defer it till this preſent criſis be over; and till he ſhall have talked with me to the end of this reſolution.

I have nothing more worth increaſing your grace's trouble, and ought to aſk pardon for the length of this. But I was reſolved to give you once this light, by which the farther paces of this affair may be better diſcerned, even at the diſtance your grace is at.

I ſhall only add, that, in whatever condition, I am, my lord, your grace's, &c.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

My Lord, Hague, Auguſt 30, N. S. 1678.

I HAVE this morning received the honour of your lordſhip's, in my ſon's hands; the contents whereof chiefly concerning the prince, I thought fit to ſend it him immediately, though it found his highneſs in the States of Holland, where the great conſultation, or rather debate, was to begin, upon the commiſſion Mr. Hyde brought over. Becauſe your Lordſhip pleaſes to ſay, you are impatient to know what my opinion is upon the whole, after my diſcourſe with the prince and penſioner, I will add what I can think of, that may give you any farther light than I did in my laſt, upon this occaſion; and, in ſuch a conjuncture, may poſſibly be done by ſmall circumſtances, ſometimes better than by great.

The firſt word the prince ſaid upon it to Mr. Hyde and me together, after he acquainted his highneſs with his whole inſtruction, was, that he knew very well what effect this would have had, if it had come over three weeks ago, inſtead of monſieur du Cros; but that he could not tell what effect it would have now, more than that it would ſurprize every body; but that, for his own part, he was very glad to find the king in that mind; and thought it might do good, and could do no harm. And then ſaid all that paſſed farther, of which Mr. Hyde gave you ſo exact an account laſt poſt.

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The next day the prince ſpeaking to me, in private, upon it, at firſt lift up his hands and eyes two or three times, and ſaid, Is it poſſible that this and du Cros's buſineſs could come from the ſame hands? That he found, by Mr. Hyde's inſtructions, the king was troubled about what he had done in that buſineſs; but it was a pace that could not be diſcovered; and that his reſolving to warrant the neutrality of Spain had undone us all; for without that this State would never have done it; nor never have ſigned without Spain, if du Cros had not perſuaded them here, that the king had abſolutely taken his meaſures with France about the peace. That the deſign of du Cros's journey was laid after monſieur Barillon knew his maſter had reſolved to ſign the peace, upon yielding to evacuate the towns. That the end of it was to ſhake his majeſty's meaſures here, by making them believe he had taken them abſolutely with France about the peace; and to loſe his majeſty's credit wholly with all the allies, by letting them know, he was reſolved to bring about the reſtitution of Sweden, as ſoon as Holland was out of the war: and to have me ſent to Nimeguen, juſt at the ſame time that I might have hindered the ſigning a peace without Spain by my being here. That the French ambaſſadors had told monſieur Odyke, immediately upon du Cros's arrival, that I had orders to come away preſently, becauſe I was making the war here, while his majeſty had taken his meaſures with France for the peace; and that it was a bold thing of me to ſtay at the Hague, contrary to my poſitive orders. The prince added, that he knew, from a good hand, by whom this whole buſineſs had been brought about; and made very melancholy reflections upon it. That for Mr. Hyde's commiſſion, it would ſurprize the more here, becauſe after this very buſineſs, and the ſigning of the peace being known in England, monſieur Van Beuninghen had

written to the States, that the king approved of what they had done, and was glad of it: that it was too cold and too hot; and that, for his part, he always thought of the boatſwain in the yachts which brought him over, who was all night crying out ſtill to the ſteerſman, *ſteddy, ſteddy*; which he thought was as neceſſary in all counſel as at ſea. After this, he told me what uſe he hoped might be made of it (which I writ your lordſhip laſt poſt) but that it could not bring the State again into war, unleſs France ſhould refuſe to ſign with Spain upon ſuch conditions as the State ſhould think Spain had reaſon in; or elſe refuſe actually to evacuate the towns, or to change the thirteenth article of the treaty.

Theſe were the prince's true thoughts upon it: monſieur de Lyra, the Spaniſh miniſter, ſaid upon it at firſt, that this reſolution of his majeſty was a miracle wrought for Spain and this State, if they could be ſo wiſe as to make uſe of it; but that he foreſaw the States would not: that the thing was gone too far ſince the ſigning of the peace by the States ambaſſadors, and of the ceſſation of the hoſtility by the prince; and that Spain could not hope to better their terms by it, becauſe this State would not fall in with his majeſty, unleſs France ſhould refuſe to evacuate the towns, which he was ſure they would not do. So that what they could hope was, that the States, ſeeing his majeſty ſo firm in it, would, at leaſt, ſecure the evacuation of the towns to Spain, as well as that of Maeſtricht to themſelves. But that he was afraid of this generous pace in his majeſty having an effect upon the jealouſy Amſterdam, and ſome of the other great towns, had of the prince, and his deſign to continue the war in concert with England.

The marquis de Grana (who is the emperor's chief miniſter in all theſe parts, and one of the beſt in all kinds that I have met with) told me yeſterday in private

private conference, *Que la doſe eſt trop forte*; and that it had already increaſed the jealouſy at Amſterdam ſo much, that they had given their opinion (the very next day after Mr. Hyde's propoſition) to ratify the treaty with France. That the king had reaſon, in his opinion, to ſay, the caſe of our treaty was fallen; and that if the States were as deſirous to continue the war, as his majeſty ſeemed now to go into it, they might make the French proceedings in this matter a very juſt occaſion, as not having performed the intentions of our treaty: but that there was no thought of bringing them into the war upon a chicane about words, whether the French declaration were in form, or their promiſe in writing. That beſides, there were many who wiſhed well to the thing, but did not know what to make of this *boutade* in England, and had no confidence in it, ſince what Van Beuninghen and others had written the poſt before, about his majeſty's being pleaſed with the treaty; and ſo far, that he, the marquis, ſaw a letter out of England by that very poſt, which ſaid, the king was ſo much ſatisfied with it, that he was upon the point of diſowning Sir Lionel Jenkins and me, for having refuſed to ſign the treaty. That, for his part, he looked upon as all deſperate: that France would *faire quelque grand coup en Allemagne* theſe two months; and after the Germans ſhould retire into winter quarters, would come back with all their forces into Flanders, and maſter it, in caſe the towns ſhould not be evacuated before that time; which they would endeavour by all the delays towards Spain, and all the artifices poſſible towards this State. That whatever came of it, he found his maſter the emperor was abſolutely reſolved never to ſeparate himſelf from the princes of the empire in the courſe of the treaty, but leave the event to God Almighty.

Laſt night late the prince told me, That he hoped to have the majority of voices, very conſiderably, in this

this province, and the other provinces entirely, for not ratifying their treaty till Spain had ſigned. That, for his part, he would endeavour all he could, that they might not do it till Spain ſhould be ready to ratify at the ſame time; but that he could have no hopes of carrying it any farther, unleſs France ſhould refuſe to conclude with Spain, upon the propoſitions they had offered at Nimeguen, and which Spain had accepted. That if they could, by his majeſty's firmneſs, ſecure the towns in the Spaniards hands, and thereby for the preſent ſave Flanders, all that he ſaw to be done, was to preſs the whole buſineſs on towards a general peace; ſince without it, after this State and Spain were out of the war, he did not ſee what could hinder France from taking Treves, Cologn, Mentz, and Straſburg, though they ſhould not invade Cleves and Juliers preſently; and that after they had maſtered the Rhine, they would ſoon do the ſame by this country and Flanders.

This morning I heard that five of the greateſt towns in Holland, next Amſterdam, and three of the chiefs in North Holland, as well as the nobles, were certainly fixed in not ratifying their treaty without Spain; and that ſome of them were reſolved to fall perſonally upon monſieur Valkener, who had abſolutely governed Amſterdam in the opinion they had taken, and with whom monſieur Van Lewen had a ſharp and perſonal bruſh, the laſt day the States of Holland were aſſembled. How late they may ſit to-day I know not, but hope I may, before the cloſure of this pacquet, give your lordſhip ſome account how the debate runs; though I do not expect this ſitting ſhould end it.

Having given your lordſhip ſuch a particular account of thoſe perſons thoughts upon it, which I eſteem moſt conſiderable here, and who are leaſt likely to be deceived, I ſhall not add any judgment of my own, which ends but in one point I mentioned in my laſt

laſt to your lordſhip, that all inſtructions his majeſty can give to any man here, ought to be executed (and directed to be ſo) in concert with the prince, in caſe his judgment upon them were not had before: and Mr. Hyde is moſt abſolutely of this opinion; and wiſhes often, that ſuch a clauſe had been in his, in caſe he ſhould find the prince here: for want of it he has been engaged to purſue his inſtructions already, farther than he thought the thing would well bear; and is in great pain what to do upon the laſt point of them, about his majeſty's reſolution to recal his troops, in caſe the States fall not into his majeſty's preſent mind upon the treaty; which the prince and penſioner hitherto are of opinion would be a moſt deſtructive pace to the whole buſineſs. I am ever, with equal paſſion and truth, my lord, your, &c.

To the Prince Elector Palatine.

Hague, Sept. 8, N. S. 1678.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

I Received ſome time ſince the honour of a letter from your highneſs, of July 29, by the conveyance of my lord ambaſſador Jenkins, and ſhould not have failed immediately to make that return which became me, in the acknowledgment of it, if it had found me in my ſtation at Nimeguen, as your highneſs intended. But being divided between theſe two embaſſies, and finding the duties of them ſometimes different, I cannot pretend to charge myſelf with any parts of my function as a mediator there, while I find myſelf engaged in another ſort of figure during my abode here. Beſides, I was willing to ſee what paces his majeſty might think fit to make or decline in the buſineſs of a general peace, before I gave myſelf the honour of entertaining your highneſs uopn the ſhare you are like to have in it. But ſince the king

king has thought fit to propoſe a ceſſation of ſix months in order towards it, I ſhall preſume to tell your highneſs my opinion, freely, upon thoſe two points, wherein monſieur Spanheim told me, you were pleaſed chiefly to concern yourſelf.

For the firſt, about Philipſburg, I do not ſee how a peace between France and the empire can be purſued upon any other foot, than what your highneſs propoſes to yourſelf in that matter; ſo that I believe a general neceſſity will therein ſerve to advance and to effect a particular intereſt which your highneſs lays ſo much to heart, and with ſo much reaſon.

For the other pretenſion, of relief and reparation of the great damages your highneſs has ſuffered by the war; ſince your highneſs intends (and, I think, prudently) to inſiſt no farther upon it, than by engaging his majeſty's offices and inſtances towards France, I think your highneſs will do better to procure them immediately by your miniſter at London, to be tranſmitted from court to the king's ambaſſador at Paris, with orders to purſue and value them there, as a particular and domeſtic concernment which his majeſty takes in your highneſs's intereſt, rather than truſt to their being handed over to the king's ambaſſadors mediators at Nimeguen, perhaps, in a crowd of many other princes pretenſions, which may all be recommended in his majeſty's name, and by his miniſters there, but not with that earneſtneſs and diſtinction, which I ſhould be glad the crown of England would expreſs upon all occaſions, in what concerns your highneſs or your family.

I beg your highneſs's pardon for ſo long an interruption, and your belief of my being ever, with great devotion and truth, Sir, your highneſs's, &c.

To

To my lord Treaſurer.

My Lord, Hague, Sept. 20, N. S. 1678.

YOUR lordſhip will have found by my laſt to Mr. Secretary Williamſon, what the great affair here was like to end in; and by Mr. Hyde's this ordinary, that has abſolutely taken that ply which was then deſigned by the prince and penſioner, and approved by monſieur de Lyra as all that could be wiſhed; or, at leaſt, that they could propoſe to themſelves, after the courſe it has run for theſe two or three months paſt. The circumſtances with which it was concluded yeſterday, may be worth his majeſty's knowledge; and therefore I thought fit to trouble your lordſhip with them.

When it was propoſed in the form I mentioned in my laſt, the town of Amſterdam oppoſed it, and ſaid abſolutely they had no orders from their principals farther than barely to ratify the treaty, without other circumſtances or conditions: that for any ſecurity could be propoſed to the Spaniards in their treaty, or afterwards for Flanders, it was provided for ſufficiently in the article between his majeſty and this State, concerning a guaranty to be given by them jointly for the peace between France and Spain.

In this propoſition the town of Amſterdam (which uſed ever to have one or two of the great towns in cloſe intelligence with them, and two or three of the ſmall ones in a ſervile dependence) had now the ill-luck not to be ſeconded by any one town of the whole province of Holland; but all of them run down the deputies of that town with ſuch violence, and particular reſentment againſt their conduct in the whole courſe of this negotiation, that they ſuffered the thing to paſs without any farther debate or oppoſition, and to be drawn up with all the ſtrength that the prince could deſire,

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both as to the Dutch ambaſſadors declaring to the French at Nimeguen, upon delivering the ratifications, that it was done upon this condition, that the treaty likewiſe with Spain ſhould be ratified by the time limited, and afterwards duly executed; or elſe, that the treaty ſhould be wholly void: and alſo to the States declaring to his majeſty, that in default of ſuch performance, the late treaty between his Majeſty and this State ſhould take effect; and *le cas du traité ſeroit tenu pour écheu.*

In the whole courſe of this affair, which held in the States of Holland from three yeſterday afternoon till ſix, and afterwards paſſed in the States General, all the towns of Holland, except Amſterdam, as well as all the other provinces, declared in all their whole diſcourſes upon this whole ſubject, that they owed the peace and reſtitution of the towns, and the ſaving of Flanders, wholly to his majeſty: that, without the laſt treaty, they ſaw plainly France would have yielded to no terms with Spain, nor have made good their own offers in ſeveral points to this State: that nothing but a firm union of this State with England, could make any ſtop againſt the ambition and greatneſs of France; and therefore that they muſt ever ſtick firm to the alliance with the crown of England, and look upon it as their *ſalvator*; which was the word that run among them. And the prince himſelf told me, that he never ſaw ſuch a firmneſs generally among them, as was upon this point; nor ſuch a confuſion and ſilence, as that of the deputies of Amſterdam upon it.

After this was done, the nobles of Holland, being the firſt member of the province, taking occaſion from a proteſt which the town of Amſterdam had put in ſome days ſince, againſt thoſe which intended to difficult or delay the ratification with France, brought in formally a counter-proteſt againſt the town of Amſterdam, rip-

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ping up their whole conduct in the courſe of this affair, laying this peace at their doors, and the ruinous conſequence of it to the preſent trade of theſe countries, as well as to the intereſt of this State, and the princes their neighbours and allies; eſpecially upon the points of Cleves and Juliers; and proteſting the town of Amſterdam to be anſwerable for all the miſchiefs that could any way come upon this State, by reaſon of ſuch an unſafe and infamous peace.

Upon the reading of it, monſieur Valkener turned pale as a clout, ſo as every body took notice of it; and after it was read, the deputies of that town all confeſſed, that the nobles had reaſon in all they alledged, and that they had only one thing to ſay for themſelves, which was, the plea of neceſſity; having been of opinion, it was impoſſible for the State to ſupport the war any longer.

Thus your lordſhip will find how true a meaſure I gave his majeſty of this country, upon my laſt return from Nimeguen after du Cros's errand, both as to what effect his majeſty's ſteadineſs and firmneſs would have in advancing the prince's credit and intereſt, and devolving the whole dependence of this State upon his majeſty; and likewiſe as to what effect every looſe pace we made with them would certainly have, in throwing them wholly upon France, even in ſpight of all the prince ſhould be able to do in reſtraining them. I will only add now my own opinion as to what will follow the peace; which is, that whereas it has been the general thought, that the prince's authority was kept up by the war, and would decline upon the peace; I believe quite the contrary, and that it will very much increaſe upon the peace itſelf, becauſe every body will ſee by the courſe of affairs afterwards, that the prince was all this while in the true intereſts of the country; and that thoſe who advanced ſuch a peace as this, were certainly out of it, either upon faction,

tion, or corruption, or want of good ſenſe: and by what I hear of the town of Amſterdam themſelves, I believe theſe two or three men that have led them in this courſe, will certainly come in a little time to loſe their credit; and I have ſome reaſon to think, monſieur Valkener would already be glad to compound for that.

I cannot but add one word which paſſed laſt night between the prince and me upon this occaſion; which was, that I had not known a bolder action of one that was counted a timorous man, than this of Valkener, to ſet himſelf up at the head of a party here in oppoſition to his highneſs; not only in regard of his authority in the State, or his *appuy* from England; but chiefly in regard of his highneſs being ſo abſolute in the intereſts of the country: for otherwiſe, I ſhould not think it a bold thing, if Valkener were in it, and his highneſs out of it. Upon which the prince replied, 'No; but on the contrary it would be a bold 'thing for me to be out of it; and thoſe that have 'been ſo, you will ſee ruined, even by the peace they 'have promoted.'

In ſhort, his majeſty's firmneſs, and the prince's ſaving of Mons, have brought the thing to this head, and left his highneſs in the poſture he ſtands. It will, I doubt not, continue while his majeſty is firm and ſteady in his preſent meaſures; and France is ſo ſenſible of ill thepace they have made in the firſt difficulty about evacuating the towns, that the ſeveral miniſters of that crown make it their buſineſs to clear themſelves of it, ſince they find it will not paſs here to throw it upon the Swedes; but I do not ſee how they can ever recover the truſt they have loſt by it in this country, nor the credit of their party here.

Your lordſhip will find in Mr. Hyde's letter two points upon which the prince deſired us to write this ordinary; one about the ſatisfaction of his debts from

Spain by the ceſſion of Maeſtricht: the other about the Princeſs's portion. The introduction he gave them was, that now he ſaw all public buſineſs draw to an end here, he would begin to think of his own.

Upon the firſt, I having ſeen his highneſs ſince Mr. Hyde, I adviſed a turn in it which he approved of; that was, not to pretend abſolutely a ceſſion of Maeſtricht and Limburgh at preſent, but only that Spain ſhould leave them in the hands of the prince till they found out a way of acquitting his debts, the difficulties whereof will, in all appearance, put them upon this expedient themſelves: this I offered, becauſe I knew monſieur de Lyra had ſeemed much ſurprized and ſhocked at this propoſition this morning from the penſioner; though I have reaſon to believe they are not unprepared for it at Madrid. The prince deſires the orders his majeſty ſends to his ſeveral ambaſſadors upon this ſubject may run in that form.

For the other, about the portion, he deſires his majeſty will either pay it by the proportions of times agreed on, or elſe by ſetting apart ſuch a ſum of the monthly tax given by the parliament, and including this portion, as will make the payment within the time agreed on, which is, I think, about 4000 l. per month, there being one of the two years already paſt.

Your lordſhip will have obſerved in my laſt letter to Mr. Secretary Williamſon, the mention of one I had received from the king to the States and myſelf, about two ſhips taken three years ſince by a Zealand caper.

The letters came through Mr. Secretary Williamſon's office, but in ſuch a ſtyle, as Mr. Hyde and I were equally amazed, conſidering the game that was playing here, whether this ſtate ſhould take their meaſures with England or with France: ſo we both reſolved it ſhould firſt be ſhewed the prince. The matter was of itſelf in a way of being diſpatched, and not in

all above the value of two or three thouſand pounds; and coming without any line from the ſecretary himſelf, we took them to be things of form, and procured only by the ſolicitation of the parties, and without any reflections of his majeſty's. When I ſhewed it the prince, he ſaid, that he hoped I conſidered the king's ſervice here, more than to deliver ſuch a letter: that he was ſure the king never ſaw it: that it was a letter to have been writ in 1671, when the king was reſolved to quarrel with this ſtate, and not now, when he was fallen into meaſures with them. Nay, he was confident Mr. Secretary had taken the draught of the letters that were written then, and had only changed the names; that the States would certainly interpret it, that his majeſty had reſolved ſtill to quarrel with them, and had taken his meaſures again with France, which would make them try to do ſo too: that in all the diſpoſitions of that king here, Zealand had ſtill been moſt inclined to England, with whom this breach is threatened to begin: for, entering into it with the admiralty there, was, in effect, with the whole province. In ſhort, he ſaid it would be abſolutely neceſſary to ſuppreſs the letter till I had farther orders; but that he would undertake this buſineſs ſhould certainly be done.

I ſend your lordſhip a copy of the letter, which was directed to me, or the ſecretary of the embaſſy here in my abſence; ſo that if I had not been upon the place, he had certainly delivered it the next morning; and, which the prince thought very hard too, a copy of the letter was given to the perſons that ſolicit it here; ſo that I was fain to deſire them to keep it up to themſelves, till they found whether I could do their buſineſs or no without it. This puts me in mind of repeating again what I writ to your lordſhip upon my laſt return from Nimeguen, of the neceſſity there would be, while his majeſty continues his meaſures

ſures here as they are, for his miniſters to act upon concert with his highneſs, at leaſt till they had made a repreſentation to his majeſty, upon their orders, of ſuch conſequences as could not be, or were not foreſeen in England when they were iſſued. I told the prince, at his return from the campaign, the firſt time Mr. Hyde and I attended him, that I had written to your lordſhip upon this ſubject, and what you had returned of the commiſſion the king had given you, to aſſure his highneſs of his majeſty's reſolution in it. The prince ſaid to us both upon it, that the truth was, if his majeſty conſidered him as perfectly in his own intereſt, it ought to be ſo; and that the prince ought to be the king's ambaſſador here; and in that caſe he ſhould be able to ſerve his majeſty; which were juſt his words; and I thought fit to let your lordſhip know them, becauſe, notwithſtanding what you were pleaſed to ſay, I neither obſerve any ſuch directions to me ſince, either in general, or in this particular; nor any to Mr. Hyde at his coming away, though he brought an inſtruction with him, which would abſolutely have ſpoiled the king's buſineſs here, if, at the prince's deſire, he had not ſuppreſſed it. And it is a very hard caſe for an ambaſſador either to hinder his maſter's ſervice (perhaps ruin it) or elſe by ſuppreſſing an order, to lie under the laſh of a ſecretary, who perhaps would be pleaſed with making others ſmart for his own faults.

There is a paper lately ſent over to be preſented his majeſty from the Lunenburgh miniſters at Nimeguen, about a difficulty they have met with in ſeeing Sir Lionel Jenkins, though they pretend to have ſatisfied the forms his majeſty requires, as to the competition with the emperor. All I ſhall ſay upon it is, that Sir Lionel Jenkins is bound up by ſuch ſtrict orders in theſe points, that I do not ſee how he can poſſibly with them perform the part of a mediator, being ab-

ſolutely bound up already from ſeeing one of the Spaniſh, Daniſh, and Dutch embaſſies, and now theſe of Lunenburgh, ſo much as in third places, or ordinary converſation or buſineſs: to either of which I never underſtood how ſuch orders ſhould be tied, or why that ſhould go any farther than the buſineſs or viſits of ceremony.

I aſk your lordſhip's pardon for the length of this trouble, which was intended only to give you ſuch lights as I thought might be neceſſary, and you would not, perhaps, receive from any other hand. I am ever, my lord, your, &c.

To the Duke of Ormond.

My Lord, Hague, Sept. 23, N. S. 1678.

SINCE my laſt to your grace nothing hath paſſed here but what you will have foreſeen, which ended with Mr. Hyde's propoſition from his majeſty. The States excuſed themſelves from any formal anſwer to it for ſome time, not knowing how the difficulties between France and Spain were like to determine. The French ambaſſadors at Nimeguen ſeemed peremptory in their demands, eſpecially of Beaumont, and the chatelenye of Aeth; but at length ſubmitted themſelves to the arbitrage of this ſtate, as the Spaniards had done to his majeſty and them. Monſieur d'Avaux came poſt hither from Nimeguen to ſupport his maſter's right upon this arbitrage, which was to be diſpatched in five days, ſo as to make way for ſigning the peace with Spain before the laſt day left for the ratifications with this ſtate, which was the 21ſt current. But before he had been two days here, a courier came to him with news, that the king of France had generouſly remitted both points to the Spaniards without any arbitrage, ſo as the peace was to be ſigned on Saturday laſt the 17th. This was done, and the States

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on Monday reſolved to exchange their ratifications with France; but at the ſame time to declare, that it was upon condition of their performing the treaty with Spain; if not, this between them and France to be void. Before this, they reſolved likewiſe to give Mr. Hyde and me their formal anſwer to his majeſty's laſt propoſition, that though France had ſigned the treaty with Spain, and theirs with France would thereupon be ratified, yet they had declared to his majeſty, it was with this reſolution, that if France either refuſed to ratify their treaty with Spain, or to perform afterwards the conditions of it, this ſtate ſhould hold *le cas du dernier traité avec ſa majeſté pour échû*; and ſhould be ready to perform the condition of it.

This was all the prince himſelf propoſed to bring it to here, ſince the game had gone too far to be recovered in any other manner, and the town of Amſterdam was againſt this itſelf.

Upon the exchange of ratifications made at Nimeguen between France and this ſtate, on Wedneſday, in purſuance of this anſwer from the States, Mr. Hyde embarked yeſterday morning for England, and with him my lord Oſſory, reſolved to ſee your grace in Ireland, before any thoughts of returning hither. All that is now left to be done, is to enter into guaranties with this ſtate for what remains of Flanders, and to try if the progreſs of France upon the Rhine may be prevented by any ſteps towards a general peace; the firſt whereof, and which the prince is much concerned in, has been made already by his majeſty's propoſition at Nimeguen for a general ſuſpenſion of arms, which France yet refuſes to come to upon the ſcore of Sweden, as they give out, but as others believe, upon their own. I am, my lord, your grace's, &c.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

My Lord, Hague, Oct. 7, N. S. 1678.

BY my letter this ordinary to Mr. Secretary Williamſon, your lordſhip will find an account of my late journey to Amſterdam, and to the prince at Hoogſhoore, about 24 leagues from this place, with one part of the errand that occaſioned it, and the ſucceſs of it. There were two other occaſions which led me to it, that I thought not fit to mention in a letter which muſt paſs ſo many eyes, reſerving them for yourſelf, and, by your means, for his majeſty and royal highneſs; ſince one of them had its riſe in private confidence from the prince, and the other from your lordſhip's laſt letter, wherein you ſeemed ſo deſirous of knowing his opinion upon two points of great conſequence, which I thought it neceſſary you ſhould be ſatisfied in by the firſt, without attending the prince's return, which was like to draw out into ſome length.

Upon his highneſs leaving the town laſt, he very earneſtly recommended to me the making a journey to Amſterdam, not only for diſcovering their minds there as to the point of the guaranty, of which I have given Mr. Secretary an account, but likewiſe as to the manner they are like to live with the prince hereafter, now the peace is made; ſince their carriage in the late debate here about Maeſtricht gave the prince a ſuſpicion that they were reſolved to do it declaredly, upon all occaſions, againſt his opinion and intereſts, however united with the ſenſe of the other provinces, and even the reſt of the towns in this; at leaſt he believed monſieur Valkener would act that part. But that his highneſs might the better take his meaſures, he deſired to have ſome certain light, both as to his particular reſolutions, and how he was likely to be ſeconded in them by monſieur Hoeft; that is, how far

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ſupported, or where deſerted in them. For the town of Amſterdam is abſolutely governed by theſe two men without any other perſon ſo much as pretending at preſent any ſhare in it. I have had long diſcourſes with them both, and not only together, but ſeparately, and, as the prince thinks, very much to the advantage of his affairs and ſervice here. Monſieur Valkener, who is a very thoughtful, deſigning, and covered man, yet went ſo far with me, as to ſay plainly at laſt, that for his part, he ſhould ever ſhew as much reſpect to his highneſs's perſon and intereſts as any man in the country, while he kept within the eſtabliſhed conſtitutions of the ſtate; but if, upon any occaſion, he ſhould offer to go beyond them, he muſt oppoſe it as far as he could; and believed, not only that his town would do ſo too, but that they would be applauded in it by the other towns of this province; who might yet in the States, upon other reſpects, give opinions different from them: that there were two different ſorts of people for the prince to make uſe of here; one that were fit to follow him at court, in his hunting and entertainments; another that were fit for the magiſtracy of this country, and had generally a reputation not only of good patriots, but of men of ability and honeſty, and ſuch as the people generally were content to truſt: that he needed not name any ſuch men, the prince could not fail of knowing them; for if he did not by his own obſerving, common fame would tell him who they were in every town: and that if the prince would have all go eaſy and unanimous here, he muſt, when he had any thing to propoſe in the States, firſt ſend for ſome of theſe men from the ſeveral towns, and diſcourſe it with them apart; if he found they agreed in opinion about it, he might reckon the thing would certainly and eaſily paſs in the States; if they differed, he ſhould then ſend for them to talk it over with them together, and tell them, he

found they were of ſeveral minds, and therefore he deſired they would reaſon it with one another before him; which would produce an agreement one way or other among them, as well as the debates here in the States had in a manner ever done; and accordingly his highneſs might take his certain meaſures.

Monſieur Hoeft, who is a much franker man, and of greater credit, though leſs opinions than the other, went farther with me; for after ſome things of the ſame kind, about the prince's conſulting with perſons truſted and eſteemed in their towns, taking his meaſures previouſly with thoſe of Amſterdam as well as other towns, which were publicly known to be at his devotion; not confining his converſation to very few perſons, and of another ſort, nor the conſultations of buſineſs to any one or two men alone: he ended with me, at laſt, in this concluſion, that nothing was ſo neceſſary here as a perfect union between the prince and States, and the taking away all appearance of the leaſt difference between them; which would but let France into the ſtate, by ſiding with one party or other, and with either of them juſt as would ſerve their preſent turn: that for his part, he was ſo ſenſible of this, and had ſuch an opinion of the prince, both as to his moderation, and his underſtanding his own intereſt aright to be perfectly joined with thoſe of the country, that, notwithſtanding all jealouſies which had unhappily been raiſed here, or might be ſo hereafter, perhaps induſtriouſly, he was abſolutely reſolved he would truſt the prince till he ſhould ſee him engaged in courſes againſt the intereſts and liberties of the ſtate; that in ſuch a caſe he ſhould enter into the *bonne partie*, and oppoſe it according to his duty; but that, in the mean time, he would not go about to hurt both his country and the prince too, by increaſing any difference between them upon ſuſpi-

ſuſpicions, or jealouſies, that he did not ſee a plain ground for.

As to particular occaſions of difference between the prince and States, now after the peace, he would not ſee any, unleſs it ſhould happen about a ſecond reduction of the army, and to ſuch a proportion as might be maintained by the ordinary revenue of the country. But when I told him, the time of propoſing this was chiefly conſiderable; whether before they ſhould ſee the general peace made, or France likewiſe begin to diſarm; and upon this itſelf they ought to debate the whole thing privately with the prince of Orange before they brought it into the States; he told me, he thought I had reaſon, and he ſhould be of that mind; and ended with ſaying many things of the greateſt eſteem that could be of the prince, and very much kindneſs to his perſon and intereſts; deſiring me to give his highneſs the aſſurance of it.

Upon my report of all this to the prince, he ſeemed to be extremely pleaſed with it, and ſaid, I had made a journey to mighty good purpoſe; and he ſhould make ſo good a uſe of it, that he doubted not to be able to give good account of this country, as to what ſhould be their part in the general concerns of Chriſtendom, provided his majeſty would be but ſteady in the purſuit of his meaſures here.

After this I ſhewed him your lordſhip's letter, deſiring to know his opinion about his majeſty's reconciling with France in ſomething about Sweden, and entering into meaſures with them in behalf of that crown; and likewiſe about a match with that king to lady Anne, in caſe it ſhould be purſued. The prince read it twice over, and very thoughtfully, and after ſome pauſe ſaid, that he could not tell on the ſudden what to think of this letter: that upon his firſt reading of thoſe lines about reconciling with France in ſomething of Sweden, he was as much amazed as the

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ſtag was that day, at the firſt blow that was given him. That he had no reaſon to believe, by the laſt letters he received from the duke, or from your lordſhip, that there was any change in our counſels in England, from the late meaſures we had taken, of preſerving Europe from the deſign of France upon it. That yet he could not imagine how any body ſhould think we could reconcile with France for reſtoring Sweden, without breaking all the meaſures we had lately taken, and returning abſolutely into our former ones with France. That this was certainly an artifice of the French, who ſaw they could not cloſe with us directly upon any thing between ourſelves, and ſo they would ground it upon the buſineſs of Sweden, which would be in effect the ſame thing, and bring the buſineſs of Europe juſt where it was four or five years ago. That Sweden made no pace, nor uſed no language, but as they were directed by France, and ſo he was ſure they were in this. That the effect of any ſuch agreement between us and France would be the king's wholly loſing all his credit, not only with the empire and Spain, as returning into the French intereſts, by embracing thoſe of Sweden, which were wholly joined with them, but it would likewiſe ſhake it here too, and make them return to the opinion they have ſo long had in this country, that the king would never heartily break from France: and that the effect of this would be, to make the States run into the intereſts of that crown, as a thing which muſt befal them, and without remedy. And that nothing could be more ruinous than this to the affairs of his majeſty here, nor to thoſe particularly of his highneſs. That upon any meaſures which could be taken between his majeſty and France, for the reſtoring Sweden, the firſt action on the French ſide muſt be the invading Cleve and Weſel, and the reſt of the duke of Brandenburgh's territories adjoining; which will not only let in the

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French into the empire on that ſide, but make them in as great a meaſure maſters of this country (of which Cleves and Juliers have ever been eſteemed the very key) as they could have been by their conqueſts in Flanders. And that his highneſs does not apprehend how his majeſty can take part in ſuch an action, and which muſt have conſequences ſo directly oppoſite to all the meaſures he has lately taken, and to the offers he has made this ſtate about the ſecurity of Cleves and Juliers. That as far as his highneſs underſtands, his majeſty's intereſts and that of the crown of England are, after the peace, to enter into ſuch meaſures with this ſtate, the emperor, and the princes of the empire, as may preſerve Flanders, and keep France from overturning the world any farther: to live fairly with France, but to enter into no new meaſures with them; ſo that upon any ill talent of France, about what his majeſty has already done in the ſaving Flanders, he may have the empire ready to fall into his intereſts, as he has this ſtate already engaged by a defenſive league, in caſe of France's attacking us. And for Sweden, he does not ſee how his majeſty can go farther than to induce them firſt to a ſuſpenſion of arms, and afterwards to ſome reaſonable terms in a peace.

That for the match between that king and lady Anne, his highneſs knows nothing againſt it, if the king and duke think it fit, unleſs it be the time of either doing or treating it, which he believes cannot be before the general peace is made, becauſe it will otherwiſe have thoſe effects before mentioned, eſpecially if accompanied by engagements with France, unleſs it ſhould be treated upon the foot of Sweden's conſenting to ſuch terms of a peace as the confederates ſhould be likely to fall in with.

This was the ſubſtance of the ſeveral and large diſcourſes which his highneſs made me upon this occaſion, and with much concernment, deſiring me to repreſent

repreſent them to your lordſhip at large, as he would write in ſhort his thoughts to you upon them by this poſt.

After this he took notice of the paſſage in your lordſhip's letter about the king intending to command my return in a ſhort time; and ſaid upon it, that it could not be fit at the preſent, but that he would talk with me about the time of it after the evacuation of the places in Flanders, and the treaty of guaranty here ſhould be finiſhed; which being the firſt ſteps after the peace, would be of the greateſt importance, and declare the intention of this ſtate as to their meaſures hereafter with England and with France. That whenever I left this poſt, it would be abſolutely neceſſary for his majeſty to have an ambaſſador here, and not a leſs character, ſince the French were reſolved ever to have one; and that it would extremely import his highneſs what ſort of perſon he ſent over; for unleſs it ſhould be one that might live in confidence with him, and have credit in the country here, it were better have none at all. I am, &c.

To the Duke of York.

Hague, Oct. 11, N. S. 1678.

May it pleaſe you Highneſs,

I RECEIVED yeſterday morning, by Mr. White, the honour of a letter from your highneſs, with a command which it will be very difficult to perform here, I mean that of helping her highneſs to be *incognito* in this place. The prince being yet abſent, and the penſioner too, I ſpoke of it to monſieur Van Lewen, who was hard to be perſuaded that the honours due to her highneſs by the States, upon ſuch occaſion, ſhould not be performed ſolemnly at her landing. But having acquainted him with the abſoluteneſs of your highneſs's commands, both by your letter, and particularly by Mr. White, I prevailed with him to make no

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mention of it in the States till the prince's return; and this I hope may be to-night, or to-morrow at fartheſt.

For a houſe to receive her highneſs and lady Anne, with their attendants, there was no choice at all in it; and ſo the princeſs dowager's houſe is making ready for this purpoſe, and will, I doubt not, be in order by to-morrow. I could not perſuade Sir Gabriel Sylvius and Mr. White to allow me any other part in this care, beſides leaving the whole houſe empty, which I did early this morning, and them, with the prince's ſervants, in all the diligence that could be, of preparing it for her highneſs's reception, who, beſides the honour of ſuch a piece of gallantry, will have certainly a very great ſatisfaction in ſeeing here ſuch a princeſs, as, in all kinds, I do believe, is very hard to be ſeen any where elſe. I wiſh the weather but as fair as the wind, and then, I hope, this adventure will be very ſoon and very happily atchieved.

I beg your highneſs's leave, upon this occaſion, to give you an account of another command I received from your highneſs at my coming away, which was, to ſpeak at large to the prince about ſome particulars in his way of living and converſing here, that your highneſs thought of great conſequence to his affairs in this country. I did not find an opportunity that made way for it, till now of late, ſince matters here ſeemed to fix a little upon the concluſion of the peace with Spain, which gave his highneſs occaſion of diſcourſing with me ſeveral times upon this new ſcene of affairs, and employing my offices to diſcover how the town of Amſterdam was like to live with him after the peace. I gave my lord treaſurer, by laſt poſt, a large account of what had paſſed between me and the two ruling burgomaſters there, upon this ſubject, and ſhall now only add to it, that having repreſented

ſented all that matter to the prince at Hoogſhoore, and, upon that occaſion, the full ſcope of your highneſs's thoughts, he ſeemed extremely ſatisfied with both, and aſſured me, that as there were many applications which might be made in a time of peace, and could not, while his thoughts were wholly taken up with the war, ſo he ſhould not now neglect them, though he might hitherto have done it: that he ſhould fall into a new ply; and that he doubted not to give a good account of this ſtate in all the public concernments of Chriſtendom, if his majeſty could reſolve to be ſteady in the meaſures he had fallen into of late.

I ſhould not have given your highneſs ſo long a trouble, but that I thought you would not be diſpleaſed with the knowledge of this particular; and in it my obedience to that command of your highneſs, of writing without ceremony. I am very confident you will believe it to be without any at all, when I aſſure your highneſs of my being ever with the greateſt paſſion and truth that can be, Sir, your highneſs's, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, Oct. 11, N. S. 1678.

SINCE my laſt of the 7th, wherein I gave you a large account of my late journey to Amſterdam, and to the prince in the Veloue; and what thoughts and intentions I had met with in both places, about the buſineſs of the guaranty; I have likewiſe given part to the penſioner of all that paſſed there, with which he was very much ſatisfied: but thinking it of the laſt importance that the thing ſhould meet with no difficulty after it came once to be propoſed here, he was divided in the opinion, whether to let it alone till the next ſeſſion of the State of Holland, which begins next month, becauſe then it might be paſſed

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in two days time, without ſending it to the towns, the deputies being here; or whether the prince, the penſioner, and monſieur Van Lewen, to digeſt the matter with me here into the form and articles of a treaty; and then for me to go with it, and engage the conſent of Amſterdam to it, even before the next aſſembly of the State? He concluded, that we muſt expect the prince's advice upon it; and was, I believe, the more fixed in it, by being himſelf reſolved to go again out of town, after one day's ſtay here, with intention of not coming back till the prince's return, which we now expect will be this evening or to-morrow; ſo as by next poſt I may poſſibly give you a farther account of this matter, and I hope I may, in the mean time, receive his majeſty's thoughts upon that project in general, which I gave of it from the prince and penſioner's diſcourſes, about a fortnight ſince.

I told you in my laſt, of the States deputation, on Friday laſt, to monſieur d'Avaux, about the evacuation of Maeſtricht, the general peace, and the quiet of the neighbourhood, eſpecially Juliers and Cleves: I find by monſieur Van Lewen, who was one of the deputies, that his anſwer was, as to the firſt, that he had yet no orders, but would that night diſpatch away an expreſs, and hopes to give them ſome account of it within four days. For the ſecond, that his maſter was well diſpoſed to the general peace, and a ſuſpenſion of arms in order towards it, if his allies could be induced to it. For the third, that it was a thing the king his maſter reſerved to treat with the ambaſſadors of this ſtate in France, where he had expected them any time theſe two months, though they were not yet gone: that in the mean time, the proceedings of the duke of Brandenburgh were ſuch in Pomerania, as would of neceſſity oblige the king his maſter to invade his territories upon the Rhine;

having no other way to make a diverſion; though what towns he ſhould take there would be without any intention of keeping them.

Monſieur Van Lewen added to me, that he wondered to hear monſieur d'Avaux ſpeak ſo frankly in this matter, as well as in what concerned his majeſty's mediation; that there was now no need of it in any thing between France and this ſtate; and that in all things which concern their neighbours or allies, the king his maſter would rather have the States to interpoſe their mediation, than his majeſty. And he ſaid, though it paſſed in diſcourſe, and not at the conference, yet being a man of reſerve, he believed it would not have been ſaid without order, and being firſt weighed.

Yeſterday monſieur d'Avaux let the States know, that the king his maſter, not to retard the evacuation of the Spaniſh towns, would draw off his forces now in Flanders, to Huy (a town between Namur and Liege) which he intended to fortify; and finding there were ſeven or eight hundred men of this ſtate at preſent in it, he deſired they would order them to march out, this being a town of the empire, and the States being obliged by their treaty to aſſiſt none of the enemies of France. I find them here a little ſurprized with this, and ſome delays that are yet made in the delivery of Maeſtricht; but no return, I believe, will be made till the prince be conſulted after his return to this place. I am ever, Sir, your, &c.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

My Lord, Hague, Dec. 6, N. S. 1678.

I Was ſo infinitely obliged by the kindneſs and confidence of a letter I had this day the honour of receiving from your lordſhip by Mr. Hales, that I could not delay the acknowledging of it by this poſt; though

though to do that as I ought, will, I doubt, be as hard as to deſerve it. And, I fear, to interrupt your lordſhip, at a time ſo buſy as this, will be a greater fault than any omiſſion would have been. I had not before any true proſpect of the preſent ſcene; and though your lordſhip has given me ſo much light, yet it ſerves rather to repreſent the ſadneſs of it, than to diſcover any remedy to ſuch fatal diſtempers as have been long breeding, and are now ſo violently broken out, in our poor unfortunate nation. God alone can be the phyſician, who governs the hearts of princes, and the humours of people: for to think of advice from any other, in ſo many croſs accidents, both at home and abroad, as meet to make up this violent criſis, is too great a compliment to put upon any man; and if your lordſhip could hope for it, in my opinion, it ought to be from yourſelf, who have beſt been able to obſerve the ſpring and growth of this diſtemper, with the diſpoſitions of the body; and by that, as well as by your own natural prudence, muſt be fitter than any other perſon to make a judgment upon it. For my own part, it would be more preſumption in me than in any man to offer at it, upon many regards; beſides that of the diſtance I am at, and have been ſo long and ſo often, for a great part of my life. Nor do I know one quality to make me fit for it, unleſs it be not only as near and as ſenſible, but as unpaſſioned, and as unintereſted concernment in the true good and ſervice of my maſter and my country, as any man can have. And for this reaſon, and becauſe your lordſhip hath uſed many times to aſk me ſo kindly, and hear me ſo favourably, upon ſmaller occaſions; and becauſe I take you to be equally concerned with the publick in this, it ſhall go hard but I will find a way of telling your lordſhip, by ſome hand or other, and in very few words, all that I have

been able to think upon it; which can do no hurt, becauſe you may forget it as ſoon as it is done.

For any accounts of foreign affairs, which your lordſhip might have expected if I had come over; the whole courſe of my diſpatches, ſince I left England laſt, will better inform any body than I myſelf could do, as having been conſtant and particular, and thereby containing many things I have forgot. For the queſtion you are pleaſed to aſk about the peace, I cannot add one word to that ſhort account your lordſhip will meet with in my leter this poſt to Sir Joſeph Williamſon; unleſs it be, that nothing ſeems to me, at preſent, ſo neceſſary in the foreign affairs, as for his majeſty to diſpatch away ſome miniſter to Spain, whoſe chief inſtruction ſhould be, to watch any motion of councels, or negotiations there, for the exchange of Flanders: to divert them from any ſuch thoughts, by the greateſt aſſurance of his majeſty's reſolving to take it into his conſtant care and protection: and ſo to repreſent the ſtate of our preſent diſorders themſelves, as not to diſhearten that court in the hopes that his majeſty may yet be able to perform effectually, what he intends and promiſes in that matter. I think the diſpatch of this ſo much the more neceſſary, becauſe, I doubt, the preſent miniſter there may, in this conjuncture, be a very ill inſtrument in ſuch an affair; and be poſſibly inclined to promote other ends, in what concerneth that very buſineſs of Flanders, and any exchange of it.

For Mr. Montague, I have neither deſerved ſuch offices your lordſhip ſpeaks of, nor ſhall trouble myſelf about making ſuch returns. I am infinitely obliged to your lordſhip for the enquiries you ſay you will make; and ſhall be very glad to know my faults from my enemies as well as my friends; becauſe which way ſoever I find them, I ſhall make the ſame uſe, that is, to mend them. I ſtand always upon the

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ground of having never done either an unjuſt, or ungentlemanly action in my life; or an unfaithful one to the ſervice of my maſter, or my country. And whoever may be perſuaded otherwiſe of me, by whiſperers, or malice, I ſhall leave to their own opinions, till they pleaſe to make fair enquiries; and concern myſelf no farther in them nor the conſequences; having, I thank God, at heart, neither hopes to ſerve, nor faults to anſwer for.

As to Sir Henry Capel, I ſhould be very ſorry to think he meant ill to the crown or kingdom, becauſe I always thought otherwiſe of him; and cannot reproach myſelf to have often been deceived by my friends; and whenever I am, believe I have not more reaſon to quarrel with them, than with myſelf for chooſing them. For his unkindneſs to me, I will at leaſt be as juſt, as I deſire others to be to me; which is, to hear firſt what he ſaith of it, before I judge. For any to your lordſhip, I ſhall not eaſily forgive; becauſe I do not think you have deſerved it, upon any publick conſiderations; which are all that ſhould lead him in his preſent figure. For if your lordſhip had not ſerved his majeſty, and the true intereſts of his crowns, with perfect good intention to both, and the beſt of your power, you have, I am ſure, deceived me, which few of my friends, I confeſs, have done: and, I am confident, your lordſhip will never be of that number. I am, my lord, your, &c

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Hague, Dec. 30, N. S. 1678.

SINCE my laſt of the 27th, I have none from you; the contrary winds having now left three pacquets due from England. All the towns of Holland have agreed to the advice of the States General about deferring the reform, as I mentioned in my laſt, except

Amſterdam alone. What their anſwer will prove at laſt, I cannot yet tell; nor whether one man alone, as the head of a ſingle town, will ſet up directly againſt all the other towns of this province, as well as againſt all the other provinces, and in a matter appearing to them of ſo great importance to the State. For though the peace be made both by this State and Spain, and though the French have yet raiſed no difficulties upon reſtoring the towns to the Spaniards; yet they have declared, they intended to keep their forces in Flanders till they are ſatisfied in what they demand, as remaining due of their contributions, which amounts to near two hundred thouſand piſtoles. And for this country, though they have delivered up Maeſtricht, yet they have demanded Haſſelt and Maſeyck, by which it would be cut off from the reſt of theſe territories, and have this week poſted themſelves between Maeſtricht and Haſſelt on one ſide, and Maeſtricht and Maſeyck on the other; ſo as neither boat nor waggon can go from theſe provinces to Maeſtricht, but muſt paſs through their quarters; and that town is not yet provided, in any proportion, of cannon or magazines neceſſary for their defence. Beſides, it is known here, that the French miniſters and officers lie ready to take into their ſervice immediately all the troops which this State ſhall diſband; and the laſt letters from their ambaſſadors at Paris gave them yet farther apprehenſions of the conduct they are to expect from the French. For Monſieur Boreel, who is of Amſterdam, and was deep in the cabal of promoting the peace, writes plainly, that he expects nothing from that court, upon any of their pretenſions: that they were grown ſo inſolent with their proſperity and the ill poſture of all their neighbours, as not to trouble themſelves with giving reaſons, or receiving them upon any thing they treated. To this in general, he writes two particulars, that were ſomething more ſurprizing;

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the firſt was, that monſieur Pompone had told him, that the king his maſter ordered him to take notice of the prince having turned out the Catholick magiſtrates at Maeſtricht, and put the Proteſtants in their room, as a thing contrary to his treaty with this State. The ſecond, that monſieur de Louvoy had told him, upon diſcourſe of the remaining contributions of Breda, that the king his maſter had heard what the prince of Orange had ſaid to the States in the deliberations upon that matter; *& le trouvoit mauvais*; *& que le prince avoit parlè trop fierement.* Upon the firſt point the States deputies thought fit to diſcharge the prince by taking upon themſelves what he had only acted by their orders, and to defend their having acted nothing contrary to the treaty, or innovated any thing in matter of religion at Maeſtricht; but that, on the other ſide, the French had no right to concern themſelves in what the States did in the government of a town, which was now become again their own. Upon the ſecond point, which touched only the prince, his highneſs ſaid, that though the States knew he had never ſpoke any thing upon that occaſion, which might deſerve that term, yet he was of opinion, no anſwer ſhould be made upon it: that he was born in a free republick, and that it had ſo continued hitherto; he could not tell how long it might do ſo, at the rate they were now treated; but that, while he lived in it, he would, according to his duty, give his advice, and ſpeak his opinion freely in it, without giving account to any of what he ſaid, but to God alone.

Theſe particulars have yet gone no farther than the deputies of foreign affairs, and ſo you will pleaſe may not yet be publick: but they have occaſioned very melancholick reflections among them, conſidering what a condition this peace has already brought them into, and what farther conſequences they may expect of it,

upon the unhappy poſture of affairs in England, from whence alone they were to hope for ſupport. You will gueſs by your diſpatches this poſt from Nimeguen, at leaſt as well as we can here, what iſſue may be expected from the parties beginning to enter into conference there. For my part, I am able to make no conjecture, nor whether a peace with the emperor will contribute to the ſafety, or increaſe the danger, of theſe countries, and the Spaniſh Netherlands, if the French army continue poſſeſſed of Liege, and the other parts neceſſary for their making war upon the duke of Brandenburgh, as they pretend, in favour of the Swedes. I am ever, &c.

To Sir Lionel Jenkins.

My Lord, Hague, Jan. 20, N. S. 1678.

I HAVE this morning your letters of yeſterday's date, with the incloſed papers, by which I am apt to conjecture, that the peace between the Emperor and France is drawing towards a period; and, very probably, by the laſt of this month, being the term laſt limited by France upon the preſent conditions: I ſhall therefore prepare myſelf for my journey towards you, and begin it when you find it neceſſary for me, 'To 'aſſiſt at the ſigning of the peace, and what other acts 'ſhall neceſſarily require a *quorum* of our commiſſion.' Which are the words of the order I received upon this occaſion, in a letter from Mr. Secretary Williamſon, dated the 29th of October paſt.

Your lordſhip, I find, apprehends whether you ſhall have notice given you by the parties of their concluding the affair time enough to give me warning of my journey; which, with the other complaints you make, of the little confidence your are in with them, makes me doubt, whether their intentions be, that we ſhould ſign, or no: for, by their own firſt draught of the

the preface, it was plain, they did not intend it: and though your lordſhip received orders upon that point, ‘ to make no difficulty to ſign as mediators,’ in Mr. Secretary's letter to you of October 29th, and farther orders about the part his majeſty expected in the ſtyle of the preface by his letter of December 3d; yet I do not find by any of your letters, that the parties have either expreſſed their deſire or intention, that we ſhould ſign as mediators, or their aſſent to what your lordſhip propoſed as to his majeſty's part in the preface. I have other reaſons to be a little doubtful how this matter may paſs, and one particularly this very morning from monſieur d'Avaux, having ſaid in a conference with the deputies of this State, upon diſcourſe of the treaty, that the parties now treating being of the ſame religion, the whole buſineſs was in the nuncio's hands. I have likewiſe the opinions of others here beſides my own, that it would be to expoſe the king's honour too much, for me to go expreſly upon the place to ſign the treaty, and when I came there, not to be admitted to it. Therefore, to clear all this matter, I humbly offer to your lordſhip, whether, ſeeing the preſent approaches between the parties, you will not take occaſion to let them know, that having formerly acquainted them with the orders you had received, to be ready to ſign the treaty, and with the part his majeſty pretended, in that caſe, to have in the preface; and finding it neceſſary by our commiſſion, that two of us ſhould be preſent at the act, you deſire to know both their intention upon it, and the time they are like to be ready, to the end you may give me notice early enough not to fail attending that ſervice, according to the order you know I have received. They cannot, I ſuppoſe, make any ſcruple to give you a clear and plain anſwer to ſuch a reaſonable queſtion; and thereupon your lordſhip's meaſures and mine will be eaſily taken: for your lord-

ſhip, I know, will not fail of giving me advice by the firſt, and I ſhall not, God willing, fail of beginning my journey accordingly. In caſe any thing ſhould happen to make them ſign of the ſudden, without warning to either of us, I ſuppoſe, if they deſire we ſhould have our parts in it, room may be left for the mediators to ſign afterwards; ſince it is not a thing material, as to the force of the treaty between the parties. If they will underſtand it otherwiſe, I ſuppoſe it will be to avoid our ſigning, in the civileſt manner they can. For, upon the whole, the judgment which is here made of this treaty, is, that neither of them like it: and though it is neceſſity alone which could have brought the emperor to theſe terms; yet France is perfectly taken at their word, and is ſenſible enough of the advantages they are like to loſe, in not purſuing the war with the emperor, now Spain and this country are out of it. I am ever, &c.

P. S. I deſire what I ſay of monſieur d'Avaux having told the deputies this morning, may not be taken notice of, becauſe it was given me by one of them in confidence.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

My Lord, Hague, Jan. 24, N. S. 1678.

I HAD the honour of one from your lordſhip of the 7th, and deferred not upon receipt thereof to make that uſe of it here, which you intended; and was, indeed, in a manner neceſſary for his majeſty's ſervice and juſtification, as well as your lordſhip's. I communicated the firſt part of it to ſome of the States who are in chief credit here, and to the Imperial and Spaniſh miniſters, who all took notice of thoſe clauſes in it, which ſhewed how great advantages might have been made by bargaining for any towns: how no conditions were propoſed, but ſuch as were approved by Spain

Spain and Holland; and how the thoughts of making any advantages of that itſelf were entertained only at the perſuaſion of Mr. M——e. And in the ſeveral converſations I have had upon this ſubject here, I may aſſure your lordſhip, all was done with the ſucceſs you deſired. For the prince, who was gone from Utrecht to Arnheim, about the time I received your lordſhip's diſpatch, I thought there could be no way ſo good of performing your commands towards his highneſs, as by ſending him the letter itſelf, by which he would beſt ſee how much you were concerned both in his good opinion, and his particular affair of the money due to him; which, I am ſure, could not have been by me ſo well expreſſed as in your words. You will before this time have been fully ſatisfied, by the letter I ſent you incloſed, how much the prince was concerned in your part of what lately happened in England; and how little reaſon you had to apprehend any change of his highneſs's opinion in what concerned your lordſhip upon that occaſion: and, I know very well, he writ that letter with kinder intentions, than only of making you a compliment at that time. For the money, he never ſaid one word of it to me in ſeveral converſations about theſe matters, farther than complaining of his own ill luck, ſince he was ſure to have received it within four or five days, at the time when that trouble was given your lordſhip there; which he reckoned upon as what muſt certainly delay it till ſome better ſettlement in his majeſty's affairs, and eſpecially that of the revenue.

Having acquitted myſelf of the duty I owed your lordſhip upon that firſt part of your letter; I find another I owe to his majeſty upon the latter; of which I deſpair of being able to acquit myſelf as I ought to do, or as the ſenſe of ſo great a favour juſtly obliges me to. The diſtinction his majeſty is pleaſed to make between me and other men, both in eſteeming me fit

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for the diſcharge of ſo great a truſt, and in offering to be himſelf at the charge of Mr. Secretary Coventry's retiring out of it, is what, I am ſure, I ſhall never live to forget, though I can never hope to deſerve; and therefore muſt beg of your lordſhip to aſſiſt me in making the heartieſt and humbleſt acknowledgments to his majeſty, that any ſervant can make to the beſt maſter in the world. After this is done, I am very ſorry that I muſt make ſo true and plain a confeſſion of myſelf, as I am forced to do upon this occaſion. If I found myſelf capable of doing his majeſty the ſervice that would become me in ſuch a poſt, I ſhould eſteem it the greateſt, and indeed the only happineſs that could befal me at this time, and in the poor remainders of my life: but the ſenſible decays I feel of late in myſelf, and which muſt increaſe every day with my age and ill health, make me abſolutely deſpair of acquitting myſelf as I ought, and would be neceſſary for his majeſty's ſervice, in a poſt that requires not only great abilities, but good health, and all the application that can be; neither of which I can either ways promiſe either his majeſty or myſelf. And I may pretend to be ſo honeſt a man, as never to make ſo ill a bargain for ſo good a maſter; which would be like ſelling him a horſe very dear, that I knew to be old and reſtif, and not at all fit for the ſervice he deſigned him. I beg your lordſhip to repreſent this to his majeſty, not as an affected modeſty, nor as a ſpeaker's form of diſabling himſelf when he is choſen. For your lordſhip may pleaſe to remember, I writ the ſame thing to you ſix months ago: and Mr. Hyde knows very well the thoughts of this kind he both found and left me in at his laſt being here. The ſeaſon I have ſince paſſed, in a place ſo unkind to my health, has given me a great deal of reaſon to continue them, and to think myſelf not at all fit to enter upon ſo great and laborious an employment, or even to continue this

this longer than the ſpring; beyond which time I can foreſee little uſe his majeſty can have of me here. And whenever he ſhall pleaſe to end it, I doubt not but he will give me leave to ſeek for a little better health in ſome warmer climate: and I am ſure, he ſhall never find a better ſubject, how uſeleſs a ſervant ſoever I may have been; and that none ſhall ever make more paſſionate wiſhes for his happineſs and ſafety, than I ſhall do all the days of my life.

I cannot end this without making your lordſhip likewiſe my particular acknowledgments for your favour and good opinion, which I ſhall ever eſteem among my beſt poſſeſſions. But having had the honour of your agreeing ſo often with me in what we have talked of, I cannot but be confident, that if you knew me as well as I do myſelf, you would be perfectly of my mind in this matter; as I ſhould be of yours, if I found myſelf, indeed, what your lordſhip is pleaſed to eſteem me. That which I hope we both agree in, is, the belief that you can never meet with a greater and ſincerer paſſion, than that wherewith I have been ſo long, and ſhall be, your's, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

SIR, Rhenen, Feb. 6, N. S. 1678-9.

UPON this day ſen'night I received at the Hague an expreſs from Sir Lionel Jenkins, preſſing me to come away immediately to Nimeguen, upon the aſſurance he then had the treaty would be ſigned there the next day, and that my preſence would be neceſſary to make up a commiſſion at that time. Whereupon, finding my orders expreſs in that caſe, I parted the ſame day from the Hague, and made a ſhift to get to Nimeguen the next, being Tueſday at night. The Thurſday following I went to the prince of Orange at Arnheim, upon a letter from his highneſs, and returned

ſo

ſo late that night, as to have no part in the diſpatch by that ordinary, which was the ſecond I have miſſed ſince my laſt to you from the Hague. I communicated to his highneſs the orders I received by yours of the 14th paſt, which came to me the day after my arrival at Nimeguen. He was very ready to perform the part his majeſty expected from him upon that occaſion; but ſaid, I knew very well he had never been able to hinder libels and paſquins from being printed here againſt himſelf, and ſo could not aſſure me of hindering them againſt his majeſty; but that he would endeavour it, and hoped he might be able to do it at Utrecht; but adviſed me to addreſs myſelf to the magiſtrates of Amſterdam, where he could not undertake for it. He took occaſion to tell me, that the penſioner of Amſterdam had been with him the day before, upon the election of the ſchepers for this year: that falling into the diſcourſe of the affairs of England he had told him, that the general report and belief at Amſterdam was, that the great preparations made by France in their ſea ports were to make the king maſter of his parliament; and that was the reaſon we took no notice of them in England. I took this for a libel ſpread here by the ſame hands from which you expected they ſhould be ſent and printed to be ſpread in England; but the prince ſaid, he had reaſon to believe it was given out by the French, to damp all hopes that this State might have of any ſupport from England: and that he had received two letters upon the ſame ſubject from Amſterdam, before the penſioner of that town had told him of it.

I ſhall not need tell you of the peace having been ſigned laſt night, about ten of the clock, between the emperor and France, and agreed to be ſo this day between the Imperialiſts and Swedes: you will know the whole courſe of that affair, with all circumſtances, by an expreſs this day from my colleague, and how un-

neceſſary a journey I have made in the worſt ſeaſon that I ever felt, and upon pure obedience to the orders you ſent me: for I had no reaſon to think the Imperialiſts would yield a point they had ever conteſted, and, therefore, I had deſired my colleague to inform himſelf of it before he ſent for me. It is now paſt, and I have only reaſon to be ſatisfied, that all was agreed to by the parties which you ſeemed to deſire for his majeſty's honour in the preface, as well as for his incluſion in the treaty. This morning I left Nimeguen, and thought to have reached Utrecht this night; but the ways are almoſt impaſſable for a coach, by the great drifts of ſnow; ſo that all I can hope for, is, to be there to-morrow night: from thence I reſolve to go to Amſterdam, and ſpeak with the magiſtrates in both places, about ſearching and preventing what you apprehend from thoſe preſſes: and becauſe I am not like to be in Holland time enough for next ordinary, I diſpatch this away to Utrecht by expreſs, in hopes it may get time enough to the Hague to go away with the ordinary to-morrow night, that ſo you might know ſomething of my motions, as well as of my late omiſſions, which have been occaſioned by them. I am ever, &c.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

My Lord, Hague, Feb. 21, N. S. 1678-9.

HAVING ſince my laſt had ſeveral occaſions of diſcourſing with the prince upon the ſubject of your lordſhip's laſt letter, and the account you were pleaſed to give there both of his majeſty's conduct and your own, in thoſe negotiations which were ſo much talked on of late; his highneſs was very full in his expreſſions of juſtifying your lordſhip upon having done nothing but with his majeſty's order, even in writing; and could not talk of Mr. M——'s part in it without

out the greateſt indignation in the world. For the thing itſelf, he would ſay little, but, that it was paſt, and ſo it was to no purpoſe to talk of it: that no body had any thing left to do ſince the peace, but to play an ill game the beſt they could, and ſo he reſolved to do here: but nothing he could now do would ſignify much towards the common ſafety, unleſs England could grow into a poſture of being more united at home, and more conſidered abroad, than they ſeemed likely to be by the preſent courſe of our affairs; which he ever talks of with great concernment. Since the commiſſion I received to go again to Nimeguen, to continue there the figure of his majeſty's mediation, upon the recalling of Sir Lionel Jenkins, he was very inquiſitive into the reaſon of it; which I could not give him; having received barely a commiſſion to act alone in that function, and three lines only from Mr. Secretary Williamſon, to tell me, he had ſent it by his majeſty's order. All we could gueſs, was the deſign of ſparing ſo much money, by ending Mr. Hyde's and Sir Lionel's embaſſy, now the peace was ſo near concluded, and continuing mine only for the decency of the mediation till the aſſembly ſhould break up. And the prince ſaid upon it, that he hoped, however, the king might make ſome good uſe of it; and ſince the peace of the north would certainly be made, now the emperor's was ſo, he thought it would be very much better, that his majeſty ſhould make it than France, eſpecially that between Brandenburgh and Sweden; and thereby endeavoured to draw ſome dependence of thoſe two princes upon himſelf after the peace, which, he doubted, would otherwiſe fall on France: he ſaid beſides, that he would think of this matter within two or three days, and tell me, if not write into England, what ſhould occur to him upon it, before I went to Nimeguen: and, that the ſooner the peace of the north was now made, the better; that France might

thereby

thereby have no longer a pretext of keeping the ſeven towns in Cologn, Juliers, and Liege; whereby they are poſted ſo, as to awe this country and Flanders, and to be ready for any new deſign upon them.

In this conference, and one before, his highneſs deſired me to write to your lordſhip, and put you in mind of his money; concerning which you had expreſſed ſo great concernment in your laſt to me. His highneſs ſaid, he did not doubt but this ſum might be eaſily advanced upon that act which provided for it, in caſe the whole ſecurity were not engaged ſome other ways, which he hoped your lordſhip has had the kindneſs and juſtice to prevent.

In the midſt of your lordſhip's great affairs, I know very well, I ought to give you as few and as ſhort troubles as I can; and therefore ſhall not lengthen this beyond the aſſurances of my being ever, my lord, your, &c.

To the Earl of Sunderland.

My Lord, Hague, Feb. 28, N. S. 1678-9.

ON Saturday laſt I received the honour of one from your lordſhip of the 11th, and this morning another of the 14th; both of them bringing me his majeſty's command for my immediate return; and the laſt, a letter of revocation to the States General. I have this afternoon communicated both to the prince, who finding me preſſed to make ſo much diligence in my journey, has made it formally his deſire to me, that I will go away, without taking notice here of my abſolute revocation, or thereupon, any formal leave of the States, which, he ſays, may be done as ſoon as I am there, if his majeſty pleaſes; and about the time my lord ambaſſador Jenkins ſhall arirve here. His highneſs takes this to be a point ſo important to his majeſty's ſervice, and to his own intereſts here at this time,

time, which, he ſays, are the ſame with his majeſty's; that he is ſure (as he is pleaſed to ſay) the king will give him leave to govern ſuch a circumſtance as this is; and therefore ſays, he will take it upon himſelf; and his majeſty will know the reaſons when I have the honour to attend him. I confeſs, I could ſee no prejudice in this to his majeſty, nor to any, unleſs myſelf (on the account of the uſual preſents upon a revocation): I therefore conſented to it; and ſhall thereupon be ready, I hope, to embark to-morrow, or next day, if wind and weather ſuffer me. Though the prince had not deſired this way of parting, I have another reaſon would, of neceſſity, have engaged me to it; which is, my being ſo much indebted here, by not having received my money ſince my coming over in July laſt, that it would have been impoſſible for me to have carried my goods and family away from hence, without attending the neceſſary diſpatches from the exchequer; which, I doubt, by the ſtyle of both your lordſhip's letters, preſſing me to ſo much haſte in my journey, would not have paſſed with his majeſty for a good excuſe of my not coming away.

The common occurences will be tranſmitted to your lordſhip by Mr. Meredith, as has been uſual: ſo that after having very heartily given your lordſhip joy upon your entrance into an employment of ſo great weight and conſequence to his majeſty's ſervice, with my true wiſhes of all the ſatisfaction that can be from it, both to his majeſty and yourſelf, I ſhall end with the profeſſions of my being ever, &c.

The private Letter of the ſame Date to the Earl of S——d.

I MUST leave it to time to tell you, whether your letter as ſecretary of ſtate, and acquainting me with his majeſty's having ſent for me over to enter upon the

ſame

ſame poſt, were as welcome to me, as, I am ſure, it was ſurprizing, after my preparations and thoughts had been turned for a week together to Nimeguen. But I cannot forbear aſſuring you in the mean time, that nothing could be welcomer, than a ſhort one I received with it from my lord Sunderland; by which I found he was pleaſed with the new employment, and not unſatisfied with the proſpect of our affairs. I take your lordſhip to be ſo good and univerſal a judge, that I cannot eaſily believe you ſhould be deceived in what concerns either the publick or yourſelf; and therefore cannot chuſe but raiſe from it good preſages to both: otherwiſe, I confeſs, I ſee nothing to change my opinion of publick affairs, or my reſolutions as to my own part in them; though, I find, my friends have ſo different thoughts of both. I wiſh I may find any thing to undeceive me when I come over. In the mean time, I ſhould be infinitely glad to contribute more than my wiſhes towards the ends you ſeem to propoſe yourſelves; and if I could think myſelf capable of doing it, neither the king, nor your lordſhip, would find a truer ſervant: in the mean time, I will only ſay, that among all you have, there is none can take more part in all that concerns your lordſhip, nor that can be more unfeignedly than I am, my Lord, your, &c.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

My Lord, Hague, Feb. 28, N. S. 1678-9.

I Received laſt Saturday the honour of one from your lordſhip of the 11th; which, I confeſs, ſurprized me more than any I ever had from you; coming not only after my orders and preparations for Nimeguen, but after my wife had told me from your lordſhip, how all that affair had paſſed; and after I had written to her, how infinitely ſenſible I was of the obligations

I had to your lordſhip in the whole courſe of it, and how perfectly I was ſatisfied as to myſelf with the ply it had taken. Time alone muſt tell, if either his majeſty or I have reaſon to be ſatisfied with the change he has ſince made in that meaſure, which will depend upon the ſucceſs of it, and of my being of the uſe deſigned in ſo great a poſt, towards thoſe publick ends, that, I am confident, your lordſhip aims at in it, and which none can anſwer for. I wiſh to God I could deſerve half the honour his majeſty does me by his good opinion; for I never can the kindneſs of your intention (whatever may happen) though no man can be more ſenſible than I am of it. For the reſt, I ſhall not trouble your lordſhip farther with any diſcourſes upon that ſubject, being like to have the honour of waiting on you ſo ſoon; for I hope, God willing, to go aboard the yacht to-morrow or Wedneſday, if wind and weather ſuffer me; and, with your lordſhip's good leave, ſhall make my firſt ſtep into the Cockpit, where you will then find, I am ſure, a moſt humble ſervant.

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Zulichem, monſieur, directs Sir William Temple to uſe the moxa for the cure of the gout, iii. 246. See *Gout*, *Moxa*.

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